The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XI

The Challenge to the Empires

TRANSLATED BY KHALID YAHYA BLANKINSHIP

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Although this volume deals with the part of al-Ṭabarī's History covering the years 12 and 13 (633-35), in the caliphates of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq and ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the narratives contained in it, which are lengthy and detailed, are concerned with the first Muslim conquests in Iraq and Syria. Although it might be expected, therefore, that this volume would be a basic source for these conquests, the actual value of the bulk of the reported traditions is in considerable doubt because most of the material is derived from a later Kūfan traditionist, Sayf b. ʿUmar (d. 170-93/786-809), who apparently exaggerated and distorted his material considerably. Indeed, Sayf's transmissions clearly reveal the tendency of his party, an anti-Shīʿite faction based on the Arab Muḍar tribal group in al-Kūfah that had lost out with the fall of the Umayyads and the coming of the ʿAbbāsids to power. Although Sayf's transmissions thus have limited value as far as the earliest conquests themselves are concerned, they are of the utmost value in revealing the content and character of Islamic historical debates in the late 2nd/8th century. In addition, they permit us to elucidate and reconstruct an early harmonizing tendency in Islam that undoubtedly had a significant effect on the way later Muslims viewed their earliest history.

The translation is preceded by an introduction analyzing the tendencies of Sayf and his party as revealed in this volume. Extensive notes accompany the text for the benefit of historians in other fields, as well as of Islamic specialists.

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THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XI

The Challenge to the Empires

A.D. 633–635/A.H. 12–13

Center for Iranian Studies

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Said Amir Arjomand, Editor

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

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The Challenge to the Empires

translated and annotated
by

Khalid Yahya Blankinship

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Al-Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation contains a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It also provides information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into thirty-nine volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of

transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq" means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized, as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

Contents

Abbreviations

CHI: *The Cambridge History of Iran*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968–.
EI[1]: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 4 volumes and supplement. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–38.
EI[2]: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954–.
GAS: F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967–.

Translator's Foreword

This volume of al-Ṭabarī's history covers the years 12–13 A.H. (633–35 C.E.), including most of the reign of the caliph Abū Bakr (reigned 11–13/632–34) and the beginning of that of the caliph ʿUmar (reigned 13–23/634–44). It thus deals with one of the most crucial points in the history of Islam, when the early Medinan state established by the Prophet Muḥammad was transformed into a much larger empire through the Muslim conquest of the Fertile Crescent. Because the whole volume is devoted exclusively to only two years of history, one would expect its accounts to be more detailed than other parts of al-Ṭabarī, and indeed they are. They are also far more detailed than most other early, partially independent accounts that have come down to us, such as those of Ibn Khayyāṭ (d. 240/854), al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892), and al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 282/895). As a result, the material contained in this volume constitutes one of the most important of the basic sources that must be considered for the early Islamic conquests, for the bulk of the volume is concentrated exclusively on the earliest Muslim military campaigns in the Fertile Crescent.

These campaigns fall into two distinct sections: the campaigns against the Persians in Iraq (pp. 1–70, 116–24, 173–224, total 128 pages) and those against the Romans in Syria (pp. 73–116, 124–29, 158–73, total 63 pages). Most of the reports consist of long, detailed prose descriptions of various battles; poetry is scarce. However, there is also occasional information about the peace terms agreed to by the conquered populations and other administrative arrangements subsequent to the conquest. The reports dealing with Iraq

provide details on the exploits of the renowned Khālid b. al-Walīd, who first subdued the region around the future al-Baṣrah in the south (pp. 1, 7–19), then conquered the vicinity of al-Ḥīrah, near the future al-Kūfah in the center (pp. 2–7, 19–57, 70), and finally took the outlying areas of Dūmat al-Jandal (pp. 57–60, 70) and the Euphrates River up to the Roman border (pp. 60–70). Then the Syrian campaign is connected with that of Iraq through a description of Khālid's march through the desert to Syria to reinforce other Muslim troops already there (pp. 109–17, 122–26). As with the Iraqi campaigns, the invasion of Syria is treated as a series of thinly connected episodes built up around the individual battles fought there: al-Yarmūk (pp. 83–104), Marj al-Ṣuffar (pp. 81–83, 109), Ajnādayn (pp. 126–29), Fiḥl (pp. 160–65, 170–72), and the siege of Damascus (pp. 160–61, 165–69). Some information is also offered about subsequent administrative arrangements. Finally, the scene returns to campaigns and countercampaigns on the central front in Iraq (pp. 116–22, 173–224), building toward the decisive Battle of al-Qādisiyyah, which is covered in the next volume of this series, Volume XII.

It is important that the reader note that for several of the battles or campaigns described in this volume alternative versions appear only in Volume XII. They include the campaigns of al-Ubullah (Volume XII, pp. 161–72), al-Yarmūk (pp. 132–35), and Ajnādayn (pp. 185–89). These passages also must be consulted to obtain a complete picture of the information that al-Ṭabarī has to offer on the earliest conquests.

Most of the twenty pages in this volume that are not concerned with campaigns in Iraq and Syria contain miscellaneous accounts inserted on the occasion of Abū Bakr's death. They include the notice on the caliph's death itself (pp. 129–38), personal biographical notes about him (pp. 138–41, 149–53), a listing of his officials (pp. 142–45), and reports on his appointment of ʿUmar as his successor (pp. 145–49). Finally, very short notices appended at the end of each year list governors, leaders of the pilgrimage, and deaths of a few notables (pp. 70–72, 224–25). The volume contains little material on the establishment of the basic institutions of the Islamic caliphate, which must have been in process at the time. Whatever administrative, social, and economic information may be found occurs only incidentally.

Although the reports in this volume are quite detailed for what they do cover, they must be carefully scrutinized for their sources and content before we can be satisfied that they do in fact contain accurate information, as the better part of three centuries separated al-Ṭabarī, who died in 310 (923), from the events he described here. Although he scrupulously cited his sources and can be shown to have often quoted from them almost verbatim, these sources themselves can be traced with certainty only to an earlier stage in the collection of Islamic history, represented by the writers Ibn Isḥāq (d. 151/767), Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819), al-Wāqidī (d. 207/822), and Sayf b. ʿUmar (d. 170–93/786–809). From the first three, all of whom are cited in this volume, there are works extant that enable us to assess their tendencies to some extent, as well as to verify their use of their own sources. For an assessment of the value of their transmissions, the reader is referred to the relevant articles in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* and other secondary literature.

It is the fourth writer extensively quoted by al-Ṭabarī, Sayf b. ʿUmar, with whom we are mainly concerned here. As his work survives principally in the transmission of al-Ṭabarī and those who took from him and is found nowhere in independent form, he has unfortunately been rather ignored in modern criticism. Yet it is Sayf's lengthy reports that fill most of the pages of this and several other volumes. The historical evaluation of this volume therefore depends to a large extent on our assessment of the nature of Sayf's reports and al-Ṭabarī's use of them, and it is to these problems that we must turn our attention.

Abū ʿAbdallāh Sayf b. ʿUmar al-Usayyidī al-Tamīmī was a Kūfan traditionist who died in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170–93/786–809).[1] Other than the possibility that he was accused of *zandaqah* (Manichaeism) in the inquisition (*miḥnah*) that began under al-Mahdī in 166 (783) and continued into the time of al-Rashīd,[2] nothing is known of his life, except what can be determined from his traditions. As he is alleged to have transmitted from at least nine

1. The sources on Sayf include the following: Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, II/1, 278; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥīn*, I, 345; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 106; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 255; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVI, 66; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 295–96.

2. On the *miḥnah* itself, see Ṭabarī, III, 517, 522, 548–51, 604, 645; Vajda, "Zindīqs," 173–229. On the accusation against Sayf, see Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥīn*, I, 345–46; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 255–56; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 296.

traditionists who died in 140–46 (757–63), and even from two who died in 126–28 (744–46), he may have been elderly when he died. This is also suggested by the possibility that Abū Mikhnaf, who died considerably earlier than Sayf, in 157 (774), may have quoted from him.[3] Sayf's work was originally recorded in two books, *Kitāb al-futūḥ al-kabīr wa-al-riddah* and *Kitāb al-jamal wa-masīr ʿĀʾishah wa-ʿAlī*, which are now lost but survived for a number of centuries after Sayf's own lifetime.[4] They made an enormous impact on the Islamic historical tradition, especially because al-Ṭabarī chose to rely mainly on them for the events of 11–36 (632–56), a period that spanned the reigns of the first three caliphs and included all the early conquests of Iraq, Syria, Egypt, and Iran. Although al-Ṭabarī also quoted other sources in this volume, as we have indicated, the overwhelming bulk of his material for this period is from Sayf. Indeed, it is also probable, though not certain, that he has reproduced the vast majority of Sayf's work. Sayf is only rarely cited by other writers independently of al-Ṭabarī.[5]

Generally, Sayf's description of the conquests transmitted in this and other volumes of al-Ṭabarī emphasizes the heroism of the Muslim warriors, the hardships they endured, and the toughness of their opponents, features that seem plausible enough and are also found in other conquest narratives beside those of Sayf. However, Sayf's narratives differ in the extent to which he introduces traditions not found elsewhere, often reporting them from transmitters not otherwise known. These unique narratives frequently contain fantastic or legendary motifs to an extent far greater than is found in the versions of other historians. Although the fantastic and tendentious nature of Sayf's reports has often been noted, for example, by Julius Wellhausen,[6] the exact value of his corpus as a primary source has never been assessed in detail.

Clearly, Sayf's exaggerated traditions cannot have been entirely invented by him, for they were intended to be convincing as history to an audience that had a certain knowledge of its own immediate past. Sayf thus has to deal with subjects and personages already familiar to his hearers in ways that would not offend them. This lim-

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3. ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa-miʾah ṣaḥābī*, 10 n.
4. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 106.
5. One certain instance is Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 5–6, 9–10, citing Sayf four times.
6. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, 3–7.

ited the possibilities of invention. Furthermore, the very exaggerated nature of Sayf's traditions suggests a preceding period of oral transmission. As Sayf himself was clearly a writer of prose compositions, it is most unlikely that the characteristics suggesting oral transmission are his own contribution; it is more probable that they go back to his sources.

The exaggerated language characteristic of oral transmission in Sayf is especially apparent in the narratives of the conquest of Iraq, which have a clear tribal origin and bias. These narratives can be traced mostly to two rival groups, the Rabī'ah and the Tamīm, whose enmity had originated in pre-Islamic times. That Sayf should present the traditions of the Raba'ī opponents of his own Tamīmī tribal group might appear laudably fair and impartial, but he had his own reasons for including them. Probably by Sayf's time the old tribal differences had less impact, as new groups around the 'Abbāsids gained power. The old tribal army divisions that had formed the elite under the Umayyads rapidly lost influence and may have tended to forget their differences and close ranks to hold onto whatever privileges their lineages still entitled them to. Sayf thus may have preferred to bring all tribal traditions together without untoward prejudice, in order to gain a wider hearing.

Another characteristic of Sayf's work that may have been partly derived from the tribal tradition is the favoritism for Iraq that he expressed, and in particular for the city of al-Kūfah. This is hardly surprising, as Sayf was a Kūfan and relied almost exclusively on Kūfan informants. This pro-Iraqi bias is reflected, for example, in the much greater space he devoted to the conquest of Iraq, and especially the neighborhood of al-Kūfah, compared with that devoted to Syria. It is also manifest in the exaggerated role that he attributed to Khālid b. al-Walīd in the conquest of Syria (pp. 86–90, 94–99, 102–4, 111–17, 166–67, 170), for Khālid and the troops that he brought with him are characterized as Iraqis (pp. 88, 90, 116). In Sayf's account Khālid is improbably assigned the command and credited with the victory at the Battle of al-Yarmūk (pp. 89–90, 94–95, 97–98, 102, 104), though other sources attributed this victory to Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ.[7] The length to which Sayf went to prove that Khālid, rather than Abū 'Ubaydah, had held command on that day, even to

7. E.g., Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 118.

the extent of claiming that the message appointing Abū ʿUbaydah had arrived immediately *after* the battle (p. 95), probably indicates special pleading, even though his version is paralleled by traditions with a similar motif but referring to different battles (pp. 159–61). But Sayf has remolded these traditions for his own purposes and pushed the date of al-Yarmūk to 13 (634), two years earlier than that given in all other sources, precisely in order to accommodate his claim of Khālid's command, as it was most likely known to Sayf's hearers that the caliph ʿUmar had dismissed Khālid on his accession, so that he could not have been in command as late as 15 (636). Because Khālid had initiated the conquest of Iraq, he is represented in Sayf's pro-Iraqi traditions as the standard bearer of that province, though there really could as yet have been no question of the Muslim troops' identifying themselves with either Syria or Iraq, a later development.

In general, the tribal traditions transmitted by Sayf are most unconvincing in detail. Even Fred Donner, who reacts against the tendency to denigrate Sayf,[8] nevertheless denounces his "Battle of Buwayb" (pp. 196–213) as a complete fabrication.[9] In another instance that falls outside this volume, that of the alleged conquest of Khurāsān in 18 (639), the entire narrative is a palpable fabrication of tribal tradition and is of interest only as evidence that that tradition was current in Sayf's time, not as a real source for the events that it purports to cover.[10] Furthermore, the geographical extent of the earliest conquests has also been improbably exaggerated, indicating deep penetration of the Iraqi plain even before the defeat of the main Persian armies.[11]

Although Sayf clearly drew on tribal traditions and possibly other, more reputable sources for much of his narrative, he nevertheless appears also to have made a considerable personal contribution to

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8. Donner, *Conquests*, 143–44, 303 n. 36, 306 n. 94, 317 n. 212, 319 n. 247, 333 n. 118, and esp. 338 n. 179.

9. Donner, *Conquests*, 198–200.

10. Ṭabarī, I, 2680–93; Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 15, dismisses Sayf's report as "Arab legend" in a single sentence.

11. For example, the assertion that Khālid b. al-Walīd advanced toward Kaskar on the Tigris already in his first raid. See pp. 15–20, below. However, as both Abū Mikhnaf (p. 5, below) and Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 100–2, contain similar reports drawn from independent sources, they cannot have been created by Sayf, however much he may have embroidered on the battle scenes; rather, they belong to the tribal tradition.

the traditions that he transmitted. It would be most useful to assess what this contribution is, because then we could isolate some of the elements that have been added to the tradition later. But such an assessment has never been made, because the partisan tendencies of Sayf, though they must have existed, have never been adduced, even though his corpus in al-Ṭabarī provides plenty of suggestive material.

As Sayf lived under the early ʿAbbāsids, it might logically be thought that his work shows the same pro-ʿAbbāsid and therefore anti-Umayyad tendencies that are generally alleged for historians of the ʿAbbāsid period. It might further be thought than any pro-Umayyad snippets in his reports might go back to earlier sources that he borrowed from. Actually, neither is the case. Despite certain concessions to the ʿAbbāsid dynasty,[12] the work of Sayf b. ʿUmar is propelled mainly by other concerns entirely: opposition to the extreme claims of the ʿAlids and justification of all the Companions of the Prophet.

Although he hailed from al-Kūfah, the crucible of early Shīʿism, Sayf belonged to a completely anti-Shīʿī undercurrent, representing the Kūfan faction that had earlier opposed the rebellions of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and Zayd b. ʿAlī.[13] This undercurrent was generally represented by Arabs from the Muḍar tribal group, which had been favored by the Umayyads. Sayf was an Usayyidī and therefore a member of the main branch of the Tamīm, which, along with the rest of the Muḍar, had stood by the Umayyads in Khurāsān.[14] With the advent of the ʿAbbāsids, an event that Sayf probably witnessed, a party had come to power that ultimately derived its legitimacy from ʿAlid claims, even though the ʿAlid party itself rejected the ʿAbbāsid parvenus. With the fall of the Umayyads, the public cursing of ʿAlī was stopped, and instead the ʿAlids were free to curse the opponents of ʿAlī, many of whom had been Companions of the Prophet. But

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12. E.g., when al-ʿAbbās alone of all the Medinan Muslims is reported to have piously refused to receive delegations from the *riddah* tribesmen; Ṭabarī, I, 1873.

13. This is indicated by his quotation from sources involved in the killing of al-Ḥusayn (pp. 204, 206, 216, 222). Sayf's partisanship also suggests that the factions of early Islam persisted longer in the original kin groups than has generally been recognized.

14. On Muḍar's loyalty to the Umayyads in Khurāsān, see Blankinship, "Tribal Factor," 596–600.

ʿAlid legitimist claims had been disappointed by the ʿAbbāsids' usurpation of what the ʿAlids considered their rightful place, and ʿAlid supporters could, of course, not publicly criticize the new dynasty. Therefore, in order to vent their frustrations, the partisans of ʿAlī laid blame in ever more strident tones on those Companions of the Prophet who had deprived ʿAlī of the succession in the first place: Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, the Umayyads, and the Quraysh in general.

It was in this heated atmosphere that Sayf b. ʿUmar rushed to the defense of those Companions attacked by the ʿAlids and produced a narrative of the conquests and first civil war meant to justify them. Placing new material in the framework of the received historical tradition of his time, he reshaped the story of the early caliphate to prove the blamelessness of all the Prophet's Companions. In seeking to counteract the early Companions' later mistakes, he portrayed the harmoniousness of their earlier relations and showed how they had fought hard against the non-Muslims in the conquests. At the same time he blackened the non-Arab opponents of Islam to show the Muslims' superiority and to emphasize their unity against the non-Muslims. Sayf thus represented the early conquests in a picture of harmonious cooperation among all the Arab tribes against the Persians and the Romans, quite unlike the picture that was being promoted in circles sympathetic to Shīʿism. Those tribal traditions emphasizing the struggle against the non-Muslim Persians clearly suited his purpose. At the same time it must be remembered that Sayf's anti-Shīʿī tendency did not extend to casting aspersions on the careers of ʿAlī or his supporters. Rather, Sayf also sought to justify ʿAlī and to exculpate him from all blame.

The egregious tendentiousness of Sayf's corpus comes out most plainly in other volumes of al-Ṭabarī, in such episodes as Saqīfat Banī Sāʿidah (Tabari, I, 1844–50), the burial of ʿUthmān (3049–50), and the tale of ʿAbdallāh b. Saba' (2858–59, 2922, 2928, 2942–44, 2954, 3027, 3163–65, 3180). In each of these instances, other versions that do not confirm Sayf's own are available for comparison and reveal the impudence of his "daring constructions."[15] The material in this volume, on the other hand, is often unparalleled elsewhere and thus more difficult to criticize. Nevertheless, Sayf's par-

15. For this phrase, see Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya*, pp. 81–82.

tisanship can be recognized here as well when his reports are carefully scrutinized.

Sayf's tendencies are most clearly revealed in this volume in his reports glorifying the Companions of the Prophet. But which Companions receive the most such attention? The first beneficiaries of his encomia are the Quraysh, precisely the group that was being most denounced by the ʿAlids. To counteract such talk, Sayf bestowed military commands and roles on Qurashīs that are not attested elsewhere and appear unlikely in view of the tendency for celebrated early Companions to remain at Medina, possibly as a result of a deliberate policy, while the conquests were carried on by a select set of military leaders, many of whom had embraced Islam only in the last few years of the Prophet's life and some of whom either were not Qurashīs or were associated with the marginal Qurashī clan of Fihr. Much of this material seems to be a direct addition to the tradition by Sayf himself in the interests of defending the Qurashī Companions, especially early ones, against ʿAlid accusations. This is a likely supposition because many of the military roles mentioned for such Qurashīs are mentioned nowhere else but in Sayf's reports.[16] Sayf also appended longer military careers to the lives of certain non-Qurashī Companions.[17]

The same is also true of certain alleged participants in the Battles of the Camel and Ṣiffīn in 36–37 (656–58). Some of them were said to have been Companions; others were not, but Sayf endowed them with military roles in the conquests not attested elsewhere. He did so particularly for those who fought against ʿAlī, which confirms his anti-ʿAlid and pro-Umayyad tendency. He never attacked pro-ʿAlid Companions directly, however, for his paramount concern, as with later Sunnīs, was the justification of *all* the Companions, or, if that

16. In this volume he exaggerated the role of Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Fihrī, to whom only Sayf attributed a role on the Iraqi front (pp. 28, 30, 43, 117); his purpose was to endow Iraq with more Companions of the Prophet. Other Qurashīs whose roles were exaggerated include ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd (p. 90), Ḥabīb b. Maslamah al-Fihrī (p. 91), Ṣafwān b. Umayyah al-Jumaḥī (p. 91), Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb al-Umawī (pp. 93–94, 100), and Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, actually a Qurashī *mawlā* (p. 92). The motif of the justification of those Qurashīs who became Muslims only at the conquest of Mecca in 8 (630) is particularly evident in the report featuring ʿIkrimah b. Abī Jahl and his fictitious son, on pp. 99–100.

17. Those in this volume include al-Zibriqān b. Badr al-Tamīmī (pp. 53, 60), ʿUtbah b. Rabīʿah al-Bahrānī (p. 93), and Ghālib b. ʿAbdallāh al-Laythī (pp. 201, 209).

proved impossible, at least the greatest number possible. As the ʿAlid party had already provided justification for the supporters of ʿAlī,[18] Sayf probably felt that it was the supporters of the Umayyads and the Zubayrids whose reputations were most in need of defense.[19]

Beside exaggerating the roles of certain Companions in the early conquests, Sayf also embellished his work with the exploits of other, imaginary Companions and with heroes whom he invented, especially to represent his own tribal group. The most outstanding of these fabrications is al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr, a hero and alleged Companion of the Prophet, who is, not surprisingly, said to be a member of Sayf's own subtribe, the Usayyid (in this volume, pp. 8, 24, 36, 40, 42–43, 45, 48, 60–63, 65, 90, 95, 166, 168,). His being an Usayyidī suggests that his fabrication is owing to Sayf himself and not to any of Sayf's alleged sources, as none of the latter is identified as an Usayyidī. In addition, many other persons supposedly belonging to the Tamīm tribal group appear to be fabrications, some of them having stereotypical names that suggest almost playful invention, like "Wrap, the son of Skirt," "Spring Herbage, the son of Rain, the son of Snow," and "Sea, the son of the Euphrates."[20] The reader will find dozens of persons who are named only in Sayf's traditions recorded in this volume.

Not all the invented personages are Muslim Arabs, however, for in order to glorify further the exploits of the Arab conquerors, Sayf attributed exalted lineages to many of the opponents whom they conquered. Thus, one finds that most of the Persians mentioned are

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18. However, Sayf nonetheless endowed certain of ʿAlī's partisans with military roles in the early conquests that are not attested elsewhere. Those mentioned in this volume include Mālik al-Ashtar b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakhaʿī (pp. 100, 168), Saʿd b. ʿAmr b. Ḥarām al-Khazrajī (p. 109), al-Ḥārith b. Ḥassān al-Dhuhlī (p. 117), Maʿbad b. Aktam al-Khuzāʿī (p. 117), ʿUrwah b. Zayd al-Khayl al-Ṭāʾī (p. 209), and possibly ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd al-Awsī (pp. 190, 193–94).

19. Among those who fought against ʿAlī's party and who were attributed military roles in the early conquests in Sayf's reports alone, this volume includes Rabīʿah b. ʿIsl al-Yarbūʿī (p. 48), Dhū al-Kalāʿ al-Ḥimyarī (pp. 77, 81, 92, 165, 168, 172), Abū al-Aʿwar b. Sufyān al-Sulamī (pp. 91, 164, 168, 170, 172), Muʿāwiyah b. Ḥudayj al-Sukūnī (p. 92), Ḥawshab b. Yazīd al-Hamdānī (p. 92), Masrūq b. Ḥarmalah al-ʿAkkī (pp. 93, 165, 168), Qabāth b. Ashyam al-Laythī (pp. 93–94), Bishr b. ʿIṣmah al-Muzanī (p. 164), ʿAlqamah b. Ḥakīm al-Kinānī (pp. 165, 168), ʿAmr b. Shimr (p. 168), and Shabath b. Ribʿī al-Riyāḥī (p. 203).

20. On Sayf's fabricated personages in general, see al-ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa-miʾah ṣaḥābī*, which is entirely devoted to twenty-three Tamīmīs whom Sayf is said to have fabricated; most of them are mentioned in this volume.

linked with the Sāsānian royal house by improbable genealogies (e.g., pp. 120, 182). Shahrbarāz, Khusraw II's general whose usurpation of the throne had been suppressed shortly before the conquest is said to have been a member of the royal family (p. 117). Scions of other defunct families also appear, like the Ghassānids of Buṣrā (pp. 58–59, 115); the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīrah, who had disappeared more than thirty years before (p. 58; cf. p. 216; see also Ṭabarī, I, 1960–61, 2226); and even the family of Bahrām Chūbīn, the Persian usurper who had been decisively suppressed almost forty-five years earlier than the conquest (p. 53)!

Beside having fabricated many of the personages who appear in his transmissions, it also appears that Sayf fabricated the names of many, perhaps most, of his alleged authorities. In fact, medieval Muslims already had noticed that most of his authorities were *majhūlūn*, or unknowns, the quality of whose transmissions could not be verified because no information about them existed.[21] In view of the enormous corpus of medieval Muslim biographical literature, it is very strange that nothing can be discovered about most of Sayf's immediate sources, especially as they were apparently from al-Kūfah, a major center for the recording of the Islamic tradition. In the case of other transmitters of Sayf's generation, it occasionally happens that an unknown authority will appear, but, in the case of Sayf, the majority appear to be unknown. Given the shared traits found in many of Sayf's traditions that we can attribute with some confidence to Sayf himself, it would appear that many of his alleged "authorities" are simply his own inventions.

Frequently it seems that these invented "authorities" served as intermediate links between Sayf and earlier genuine traditionists

21. *Majhūlūn* authorities contained in this volume and claimed by Sayf to have transmitted directly to him include ʿAmr b. Muḥammad, al-Muhallab b. ʿUqbah al-Asadī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Siyāh al-Aḥmarī, Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam al-Ḥanafī, ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAṭāʾ al-Bakkāʾī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Sawād b. Nuwayrah, Ziyād b. Sarjis al-Aḥmarī, Sufyān al-Aḥmarī, Baḥr b. al-Furāt al-ʿIjlī, al-Ghuṣn b. al-Qāsim al-Kinānī, Abū Sufyān Ṭalḥah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Mubashshir b. Fuḍayl, Sahl b. Yūsuf, Abū ʿUthmān Yazīd b. Asīd al-Ghassānī, al-Mustanīr b. Yazīd al-Nakhaʿī, al-Naḍr b. al-Sarī al-Ḍabbī, and Abū al-Khaṭṭāb Ḥamzah b. ʿAlī b. al-Muḥaffiz. Of these, only Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam and Ḥamzah are named elsewhere than in Sayf's *isnāds*. On pp. 106–7 we are presented with the incredible information that the al-Muhallab and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, both included in this list, actually participated in the early conquests with Khālid. That would make them about 150 years old when they were transmitting to Sayf!

whose authority Sayf wished to use to bolster his own inventions. Had Sayf himself alleged to have transmitted from, say, the famous al-Shaʿbī, the fraud would have been quickly discovered, for Sayf was probably a notorious and controversial celebrity in his own time. Had he claimed to have transmitted from one of al-Shaʿbī's known pupils, he would also have been denounced had he deviated from that pupil's tradition. But, when he alleged an unknown pupil of al-Shaʿbī as his intermediary, no one could offer a sure proof against his forgery based on the chain of transmission alone, especially when the generation of Sayf had passed from the scene.

For example, in this volume, Sayf cited ʿAmr b. Muḥammad as transmitting from al-Shaʿbī (pp. 1, 7, 13, 17, 19–20, 25, 38–39, 47, 83, 176), Sufyān al-Aḥmarī as transmitting from Māhān (pp. 39, 41, 45, 48), Sahl b. Yūsuf as transmitting from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (pp. 79, 81, 173, 175), and Mubashshir b. Fuḍayl as transmitting from Sālim b. ʿAbdallāh (pp. 81, 175). From this list we can see that Sayf normally used his invented "authority" only a few times as a link to a proven traditionist from an earlier generation; more often, he cited these same immediate "authorities" of his by themselves, without carrying the chain of transmission back farther. But from his few citations of reliable earlier traditionists as sources for his own "authorities" he gained tremendously in credibility, for he made it appear that they were the students of earlier great traditionists. As a result, when he subsequently cited ʿAmr, without carrying the chain of authority back to al-Shaʿbī, he gave the impression that the transmission must have come from al-Shaʿbī or at least must have been something the latter would have approved, while at the same time he made himself safe from the accusation that he had put something into al-Shaʿbī's mouth.

Beside fabricating intermediaries, it appears that Sayf sometimes extended a chain of transmitters back an additional generation by adding the nameless father of the earliest transmitter to the beginning of the chain (e.g., p. 37). These persons are frequently unknown in any source, even though Sayf's named authority is known, which suggests that Sayf gratuitously introduced the authority's parent in order to strengthen his documentation.

Sayf often quoted from well-attested authorities also and sometimes offered chains of transmitters whose existence in every generation can be documented from *rijāl* books or other sources. But he

usually cited these "real" authorities only for brief passages, whereas the bulk of his reports he attributed to what Donner called the "MTZMAS group": Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, Ziyād, al-Muhallab, ʿAmr, and Saʿīd b. al-Marzubān,[22] only the last of whom is a well-attested transmitter; in fact, he does not even properly belong in the group, as he is infrequently quoted, compared to the others.[23] It thus appears that Sayf cited reliable authorities to give the impression that he was using a wide variety of informants, while he created his own version of events using the names of mostly imaginary informants whom he had invented or whose material, even if it actually came from such persons, he reworked freely. As he apparently did not even quote his reliable informants accurately, he was roundly condemned in the Sunnī tradition for having foisted falsehoods on trustworthy transmitters.

Although up to this point we have portrayed Sayf's reports as totally devoid of historical relevance for the period they claim to cover, the picture may not be entirely bleak, for Sayf of necessity transmitted much authentic material in which he embedded his fabrications, which otherwise would not have carried conviction with his audience. However, that material is difficult to disentangle and generally may be entertained as historical evidence only when corroborated by another source.

A couple of examples may be given, both for authentic material in Sayf and for the difficulty of distilling it from the invented. First, Alois Musil was convinced that Sayf's transmissions were reliable because of their geographical plausibility.[24] Based on Musil's research, one will have to admit at least the real existence of most of the places mentioned by Sayf. However, this proves not that the alleged association of these places with particular historical events is also accurate, but only that he based his reports in many cases on accurate geography.

A second testimony in favor of Sayf's work's containing some authentic material is the frequency with which he cited names of in-

22. Donner, *Conquests*, pp. 139, 317 n. 212, 336 n. 158.

23. It must be admitted that Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam is cited once in Ṭabarī, I, 3139, in an *isnād* through others than Sayf; however, this single instance hardly constitutes adequate documentation for the enormous quantity of Sayf's transmissions from him, many of which Sayf may have fathered onto his alleged source.

24. Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 566–73; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 306–14.

dividuals who are attested independently in other early Muslim historical or literary works. Such personages are much less likely to be fabrications than those found only in Sayf's reports. Their presence suggests that it may be possible to separate some authentic information from Sayf's fabrications. An example is the list of participants in the Battle of al-Yarmūk (pp. 90–94). Although not all those named may actually have fought at that battle, most seem indeed to be attested elsewhere as at least having taken part in some phase of the conquest of Syria. The list, which may actually predate Sayf, can therefore be cited as corroborative evidence, except where those named can otherwise be shown not to belong there, as in the case of the ubiquitous al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr, whom Sayf himself had presumably inserted.

Generally Sayf's transmissions compare unfavorably with those of more authentic transmitters of tradition like Ibn Isḥāq, Ibn al-Kalbī, and Abū Mikhnaf. This is not to deny that their transmissions also involve many problems, but they are nonetheless superior to those of Sayf. Their reports nearly always are very terse, representing almost all that remains of the older tradition, whereas Sayf's work represents huge, tendentious elaborations in support of his own political stance. For example, whereas Ibn Isḥāq's account of al-Yarmūk (Ṭabarī, I, 2347–49) is brief,[25] Sayf's report is much longer (pp. 83–104).

The matter can be taken a step farther if we consider the transmissions of Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī (d. 314/926), another Kūfan, who lived a century later than Sayf. Ibn Aʿtham dropped all pretense of citing sources, preferring to combine whatever sources he used with his own creative writing in one unified and seamless version. Although, like Sayf, he may have preserved some authentic material, it is buried in his wildly tendentious reshaping of the story. His account of al-Yarmūk is more than fifty pages long.[26] In Ibn Aʿtham's work Muslim defeats like the Battle of the Bridge, described poignantly by Sayf (pp. 188–93), have been absurdly turned into Muslim victories.[27] The Persian commander, Jābān, improbably claimed by Sayf to have been captured and then to have escaped by a ruse (pp.

25. Or see Ibn al-Kalbī's even briefer version, cited in Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 118.
26. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 218–71.
27. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 168–74.

180–81), not only remained captive in Ibn Aʿtham's version but became a Muslim as well.[28] Thus the fanciful Kūfan tradition of the conquests grew, perhaps encouraged by the need for the constantly repressed and downtrodden city of al-Kūfah to recover a modicum of military self-esteem through the elaboration of a glorious, if mythical, past.

Like the work of Ibn Aʿtham, the transmissions of al-Ṭabarī from Sayf contained in this volume belong more to the realm of historical romance than to that of history. But, unlike early tribal or national epics, which arose entirely in an oral milieu and were notoriously devoid of interested messages, the work of Sayf arose in the highly articulated political environment of the ʿAlids' controversy with their opponents and is thus filled with ideological content and tendentiousness. Its nearest parallel outside Muslim history is perhaps to be sought in the Late Roman *Historia Augusta* (c. 395 C.E.), itself a work by a single polemicist who was on the losing side in an ideological struggle. Like Sayf, that anonymous Latin writer strove to present personages whom he identified as being of his own party in earlier times in a favorable light by retrojecting his own fabrications about them into the past. Like Sayf's work, the *Historia Augusta* contains some authentic matter that it may be possible to disengage from the mass of fabrications and alterations.[29]

This assessment of Sayf in no way undermines the authority of other early Muslim writers whose works may have an entirely different character, just as the Late Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus is in no way affected by the fraud of the *Historia Augusta.* On the contrary, it is greatly to the credit of the medieval Sunnī Muslims who assessed the quality of traditions in the *rijāl* books that they unanimously rejected Sayf's authority in the most absolute way possible. They did so despite the fact that his traditions could have been used to back their emerging Sunnī consensus on early Islamic history. This suggests that their condemnation of Sayf's traditions was motivated by a concern for the truth, rather than by a wish to gain advantage in the partisan arena of the time. They realized that his transmissions were exaggerated and fraudu-

28. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 166.

29. On the *Historia Augusta*, see Syme, *Ammianus*; Syme, *Emperors*; Syme, *Historia Augusta*; and Syme, *Historia Augusta Papers*.

lent, and they said so. In fact, the condemnation of Sayf by the medieval Muslim *ʿulamāʾ* ought to serve as a reminder to modern scholars that ancient and medieval texts were not always dictated by the prevailing political or religious climate and that the search for truth had its place in earlier times as well as in our own.

Finally, it should be remembered that Sayf's work remains important, even though his traditions have been shown to be largely unhistorical. For, although they may cast only a limited amount of light on the early Islamic conquests, they constitute one of the most important sources of the early ʿAbbāsid period for the development of Sunnī attitudes toward early Muslim history, as well as for the emergence of polemic between Sunnī and Shīʿī. In particular, they enlighten us on the position of the minority anti-ʿAlid party in al-Kūfah and provide details of the party's attitude toward many individual historical personages.

There remains the question why the generally sober al-Ṭabarī adopted Sayf's versions wholesale in his history, probably to the detriment of other versions that were still available in his time but that may have perished partly because of his ignoring them in favor of Sayf. Although a final answer cannot be given here, it seems likely that Sayf's transmissions fulfilled two important desiderata in al-Ṭabarī's mind. First, his versions agreed with al-Ṭabarī's ideological position for he, too, was a *jamāʿī* Sunnī who preferred to minimize the strife among the early Muslims. Al-Ṭabarī thus handed on Sayf's transmissions, even though he can hardly have been unaware of the latter's poor reputation, which had already developed before his time. Perhaps he felt that he did not have to be as meticulous about historical transmissions as he might have been about normative *ḥadīths*. In a couple of instances al-Ṭabarī showed an awareness of Sayf's weakness, once when he denied Sayf's story of Khālid b. al-Walīd's conquest of al-Baṣrah (pp. 14–15) and once again when he changed Sayf's dating of the alleged Tamīmī conquest of Khurāsān (Ṭabarī, I, 2680).

But in describing the conquests generally al-Ṭabarī scarcely deviated from Sayf's reports. This brings us to the second attraction that Sayf may have had for al-Ṭabarī: detail. Sayf's transmissions are almost always far more verbose than parallel reports of more sober traditionists. This characteristic probably not only made them preferable to al-Ṭabarī but may have seemed a guarantee of their accu-

racy. Living in medieval times, al-Ṭabarī did not, in the majority of instances, have available to him the modern critical tools that would have enabled him to discover Sayf's tendentiousness. And, after all, Sayf's reports have continued to receive the approbation of a minority of scholars even up to the present.[30]

As for the translation itself, I have tried to be as literal as possible while keeping to readable English. Owing to the elliptical nature of the Arabic, I have frequently had to add words where pronouns were meant to be understood. In many other instances I have had to repeat a noun or name in order to make the reference clear. In all other instances in which I have added something to the text to make it more understandable, I have put the addition in brackets [ ]. Words enclosed in ordinary parentheses ( ) are part of the original text, except for Common Era dates, which are also in parentheses. Furthermore, I have striven to make the footnotes as comprehensive as possible, identifying each proper name at its first occurrence. To identify a name, the reader should find its first occurrence in the index; the relevant footnote should lie on the first page in the text on which that name appears.

One matter of word choice requires a bit of explanation. In this volume I have chosen to refer to the East Romans and their empire as Roman, rather than Byzantine. I have done so, despite the prevalence of the contrary practice for this period, for three reasons. First, it seems to be that "Roman" is more consonant with the prevailing trend of allowing peoples to be known by their own self-designation. Certainly the East Romans would have resented any implication that they were not Romans and would have viewed the term "Byzantine" as pejorative, as indeed it is. Second, although the division of the history of the Roman Empire into "Roman" and "Byzantine" phases may be convenient for scholars who wish to label their narrow specializations accordingly, it actually represents a western European perspective, in which it is considered that, after Rome "fell" in 476 C.E., all that went on in the East was purely secondary and very remote. It seems better to stress the continuity of Rome in the East. Finally, even if the term "Byzantine" were to be applied to that phase of the East Roman Empire when it had lost most of its non-Greek territories and ceased to be as multinational as before, say af-

30. Crone, *Slaves*, 9, 206 n. 51.

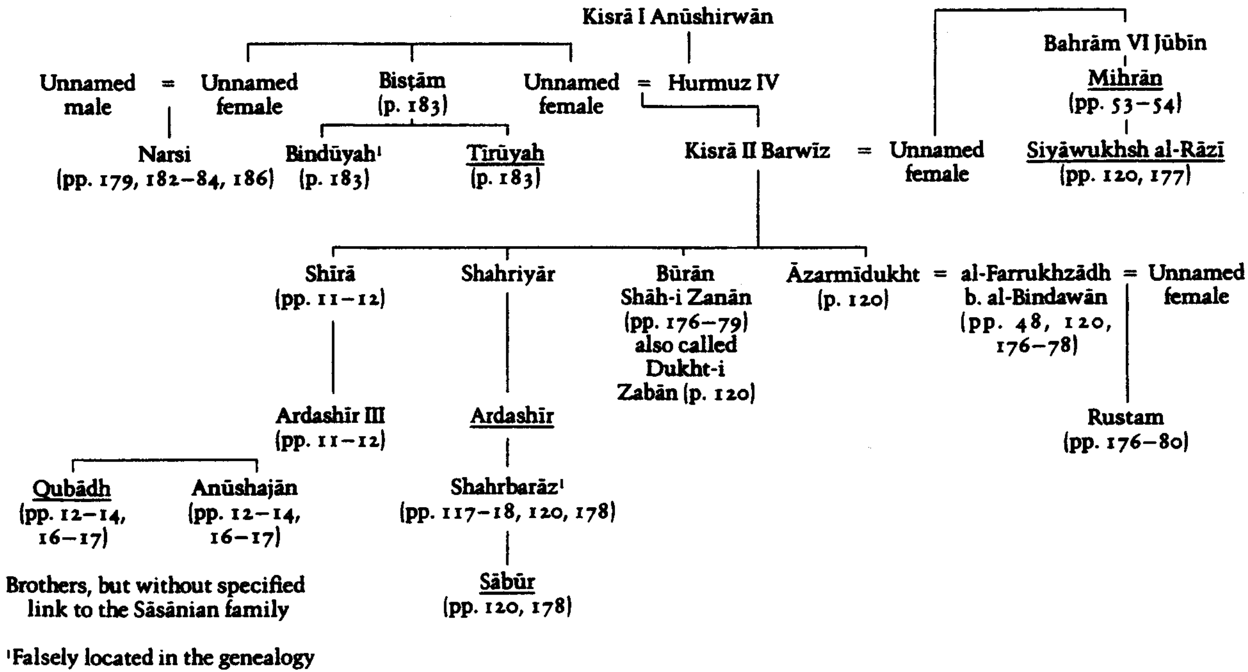
ter 717 C.E., the term would still not be appropriate to that empire in the early seventh century C.E., the period covered in this book. At that time the Romans still held, however tenuously, vast areas of Syrian, Egyptian, Punic, Berber, Armenian, and Latin population, and the extent of their rule differed little from what it had been in the mid-fifth century C.E., a period for which the designation "Roman" is generally accepted.

I wish to extend my thanks to the Ṭabarī Translation Project for the opportunity to translate, annotate, and publish this work. I also give my thanks to my wife for her patience and support while I was working on this volume.

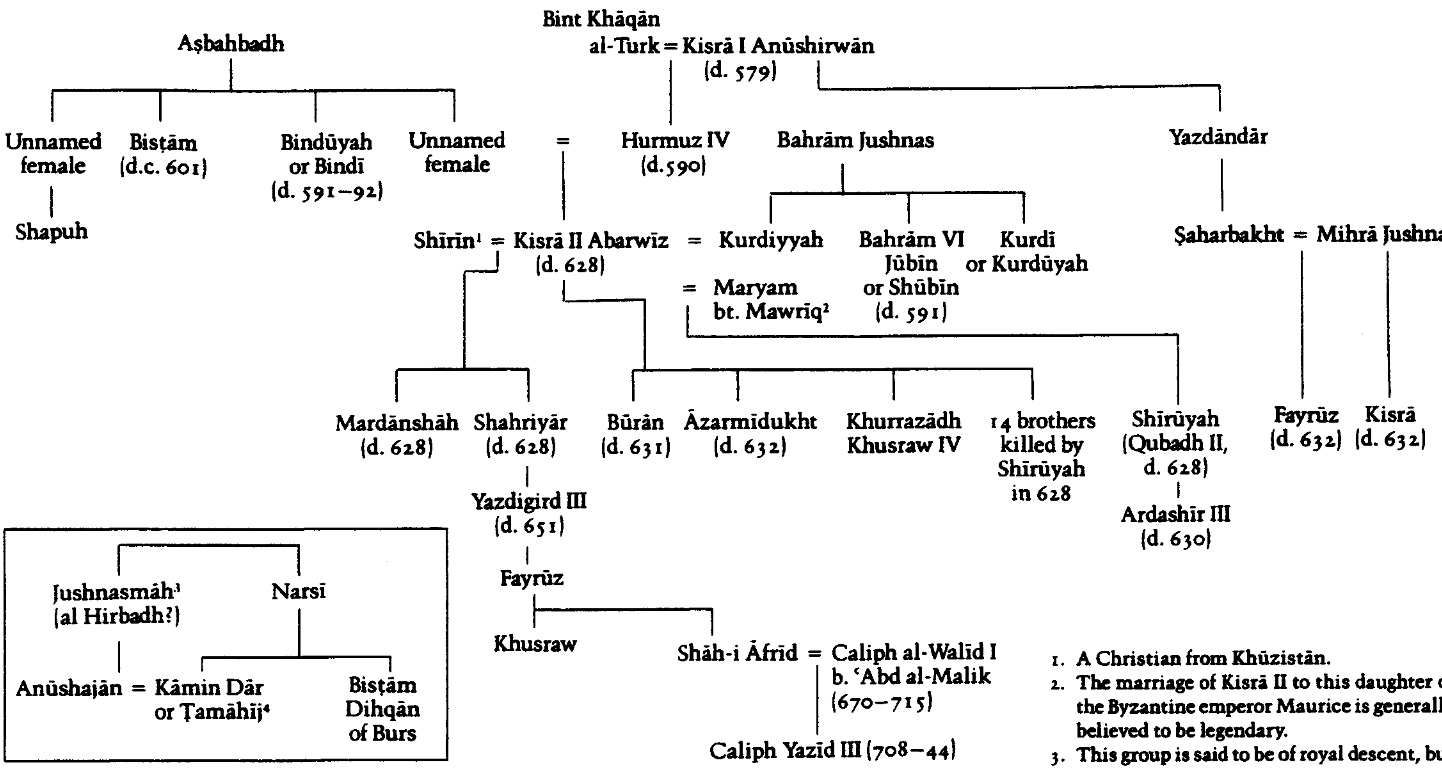
Khalid Yahya Blankinship

Genealogical Table of the Later Sāsānians as Represented by Sayf b. ʿUmar

(Names mentioned only in Sayf's transmissions and apparently invented by him are underscored).

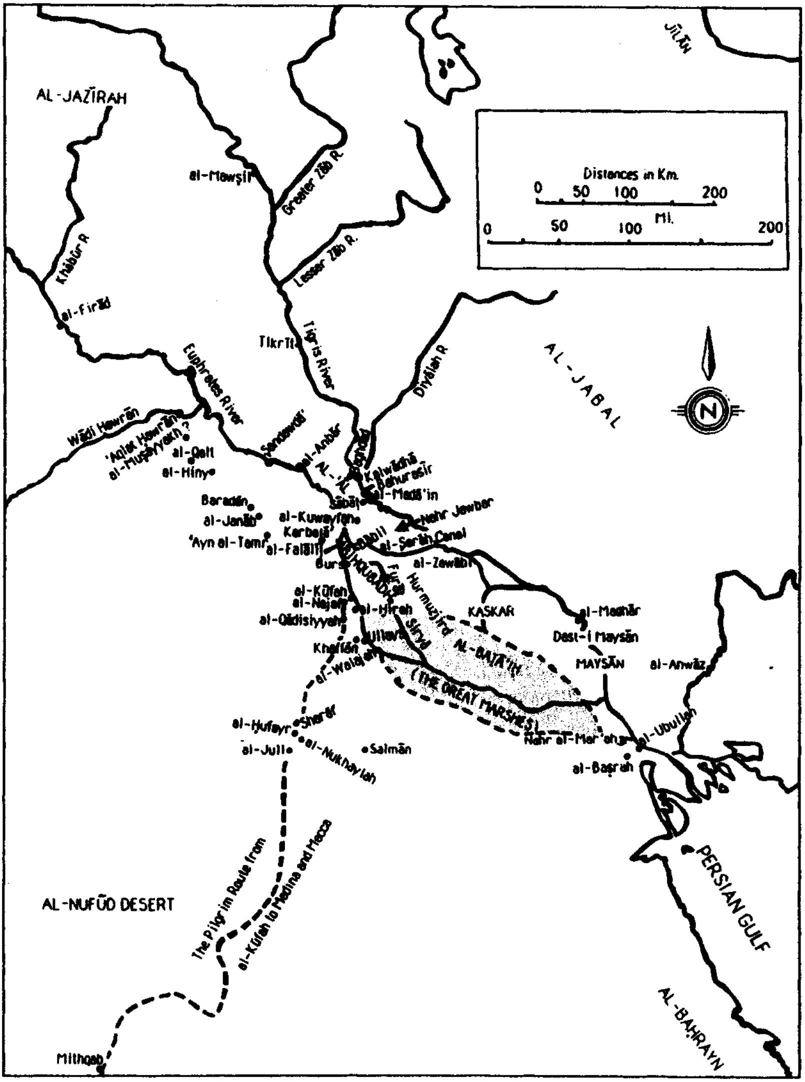


Genealogical Table of the Later Sāsānians as Attested in Sources Other than Sayf b. ʿUmar
(Names are given in Arabic form; all dates are C.E.)

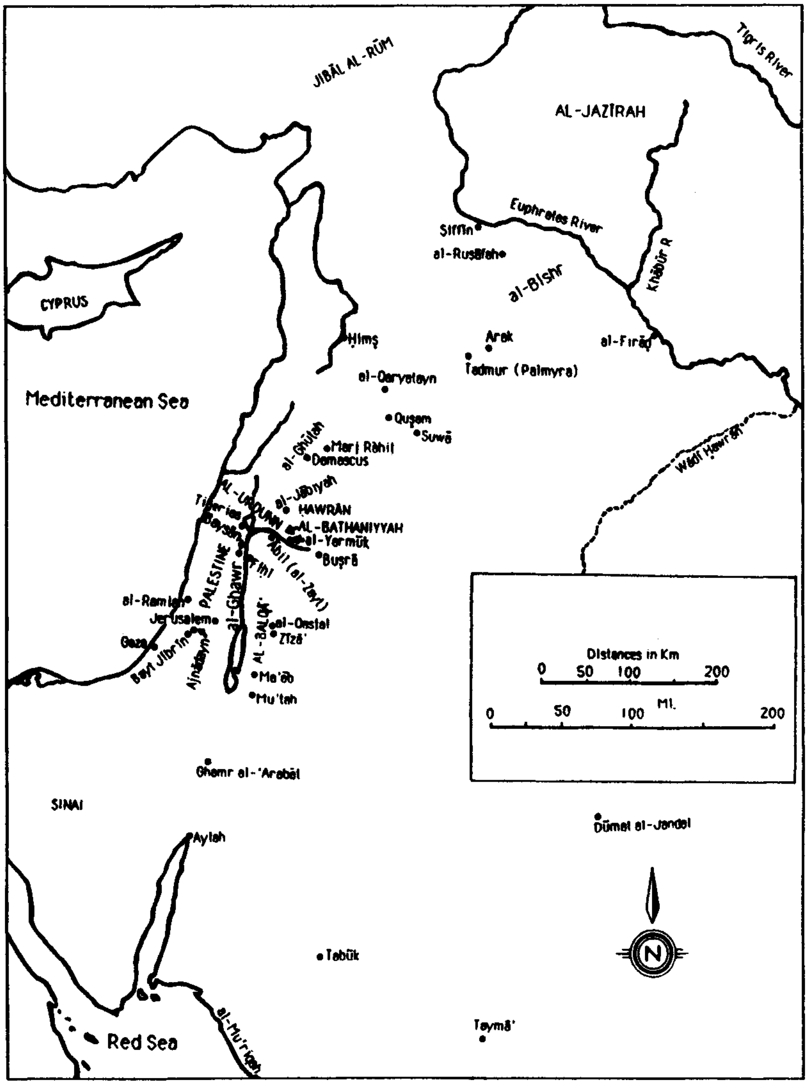


1. A Christian from Khūzistān.
2. The marriage of Kisrā II to this daughter o the Byzantine emperor Maurice is generall believed to be legendary.
3. This group is said to be of royal descent, bu no link with the dynasty is found save i Sayf's accounts (p. 182); Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 100, 114.
4. Of Nahr al-Mar'ah.

Sources: Ṭabarī, I, 993–98, 1045–67, 2245, 2253, 2346; II, 1518, 1874; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 318, 325, 418, 560; Yaʿqūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, *I*, 176–98; Christensen, *L'Iran*, 438–40, 470, 487–96; Frye, *History*, 335–37, 361; Morony, *Iraq*, 185–86; *CHI*, III, 176, 547, 988; Sebeos, *History*, 21–22.



Map 1. Iraq at the Time of the Muslim Conquest.



Map 2. Syria at the Time of the Muslim Conquest.

The Caliphate of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq

The Events of the Year

[2016]

12

(March 18, 633–March 6, 634)

Abū Ja'far:[1] When Khālid[2] was done with the business of al-Yamāmah,[3] Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq wrote to him while Khālid was still there.

'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'd al-Zuhrī[4] — his uncle[5] — Sayf b. 'Umar[6] — 'Amr b. Muḥammad[7]—al-Sha'bī:[8] [Abū Bakr wrote,] "Go on toward

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1. That is, Ṭabarī.

2. That is, Khālid b. al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī, the famous conqueror. The actual extent of his role in the conquests of Iraq and Syria described in this volume is in dispute. Patricia Crone, in *EI*², s. v. Khālid b. al-Walīd, is too one-sided, rejecting Khālid's participation in the conquest of Iraq at all. The fact that Khālid is a major hero in the historical traditions of Iraq certainly suggests ties there that can have come only from his early participation in its conquest.

3. The modern region of Najd in Arabia, where Khālid had just defeated the Ḥanafī pseudo-prophet Musaylimah. See Ṭabarī, I, 1929–57.

4. Abū Faḍl al-Baghdādī, 185–260/801–74, a descendant of the famous Companion 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf and twice judge of Iṣfahān. He resided in Sāmarrā'. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 15–16. He compiled a book on the conquests of Khālid b. al-Walīd. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 107.

5. Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm, d. 208/824. Of Medinan origin, he was a transmitter and historian at Baghdad. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 15; XI, 380–81.

6. Al-Usayyidī, d. between 170/786 and 193/809, the famous Kūfan-Baghdādī transmitter of sagas of the conquests whose reports have often been impugned. See Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 3–7; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 311–12; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 295–96; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 255–56; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ wa ta'dīl*, IV, 278; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥīn*, I, 345–46; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 106; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVI, 66.

7. One of Sayf's numerous informants who otherwise are unknown and untraceable and hence possibly invented. This 'Amr often is named as the mediator of reports that Sayf attributes to al-Sha'bī.

8. Abū 'Amr 'Āmir b. Sharāḥīl al-Ḥimyarī, d. between 103/722 and 109/727, the famous Kūfan traditionist. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 246–56; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*,

Iraq until you enter it. Begin with the gateway to India, which is al-Ubullah.[9] Render the people of Persia (*Fārs*)[10] and those nations under their rule peaceable."

ʿUmar b. Shabbah[11]—ʿAlī b. Muhammad,[12] by the chain of transmitters previously mentioned—those I recorded in that chain: Abū Bakr sent Khālid b. al-Walīd to the territory of al-Kūfah, in which was al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah al-Shaybānī.[13] Khālid departed in al-Muḥarram 12 (18 March–16 April 633), going by way of al-Baṣrah, where Quṭbah b. Qatādah al-Sadūsī[14] was.

Abū Jaʿfar—al-Wāqidī:[15] There is a difference of opinion about the matter of Khālid b. al-Walīd. One view holds that he went straight from al-Yamāmah to Iraq, whereas another states that he returned from al-Yamāmah to Medina and then went to Iraq from Medina, going by way of al-Kūfah until he reached al-Ḥīrah.[16]

V, 65–69. For an analysis of his tendencies, see Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya*, 28–31, 33–34, 37–44, and passim.

9. Ancient Apologos, on the site of present-day Iraqi al-Baṣrah, a few miles up the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab from the Persian Gulf. Its position as the chief port of Iraq probably earned it the title "the gateway to India." See Ṭabarī, I, 2377; *EI*¹, s.v. al-Obolla; Le Strange, *Lands*, 47; Donner, *Conquests*, 329 n. 66. Donner notes that it is unlikely that Khālid b. al-Walīd had anything to do with the conquest of al-Ubullah, which was actually accomplished by ʿUtbah b. Ghazwān somewhat later. However, Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 100–1, records Khālid's campaign in the vicinity of al-Baṣrah independently of Sayf, which suggests that Khālid at least may have led a raid there although ʿUtbah actually reduced the area. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 418–22, mentions Khālid's prior presence in the vicinity of al-Baṣrah but gives the major role in its conquest to ʿUtbah.

10. Although this word often refers to the mountainous province of southwestern Iran centered around Shīrāz, which was the homeland of the Sāsānian dynasty, its meaning here and elsewhere appears to encompass the whole Sāsānian kingdom. In such cases I have used its English cognate *Persia* to translate.

11. Abū Zayd, the *mawlā* of the Banū Numayr, c. 172–262/788–876, well-known historian and traditionist from al-Baṣrah. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 125; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 345–46.

12. Al-Madāʾinī, d. between 215/830 and 230/845. See *EI*², s.v. al-Madāʾinī.

13. The famous tribal leader from northeastern Arabia, d. 14/635 or later. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 147; II, 438; Donner, *Conquests*, 181–83, 189–95, 197–200, 202–3, 377–78, 380–81.

14. He is sometimes called Suwayd b. Quṭbah b. Qatādah. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 75–76; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 100–1, 114; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 295; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 90; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, III, 257; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 237–38; Donner, *Conquests*, 181, 330 n. 71, 411.

15. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar, d. 207/823. See *EI*¹, s.v. al-Wāḳidī; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 111.

16. Important town on the west bank of the Euphrates, capital of the defunct Lakhmid kingdom. See *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥīra; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 102–3, esp. n. 57.

Ibn Ḥumayd[17]—Salamah[18]—Ibn Isḥāq[19]—Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān:[20] Abū Bakr wrote to Khālid b. al-Walīd, ordering him to go to Iraq. Khālid went on his way toward Iraq, until he stopped at certain towns [2017] in al-Sawād[21] called Bāniqyā,[22] Bārūsmā,[23] and Ullays.[24] Their people made peace with him. The man who made peace with him on their behalf was Ibn Ṣalūbā.[25] That took place in the year 12. Khālid accepted the *jizyah*[26] from them and wrote a document for them, which read:

> In the name of God, the All-Compassionate, the Merciful. From Khālid b. al-Walīd to Ibn Ṣalūbā al-Sawādī, whose residence is on the bank of the Euphrates:[27] You are safe by the guarantee of God (for he had spared his blood by paying the *jizyah*) and you have paid one thousand dirhams for yourself and for those having to pay the land tax and head tax[28] and those who are in your two towns, Bāniqyā and Bārūsmā. I have accepted it from you, and those of the Muslims who are with me are satisfied with this amount from you. You have the solemn guarantee (*dhimmah*) of God, the guarantee of

17. Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd, d. 248/862, a traditionist of al-Rayy. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 127–31.

18. Ibn al-Faḍl, d. 191/807, traditionist, historian of *maghāzī*, and judge of al-Rayy. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 153–54.

19. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, d. 151/768, the famous historian and biographer of the Prophet. See *EI²*, s.v. Ibn Isḥāḳ.

20. Medinan traditionist, d. 141/758. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 399–401.

21. The alluvial plain of Iraq, especially central Iraq. See *EI¹*, s.v. al-Sawād; Morony, *Iraq*, 121, 127 map.

22. Aramaic Beth Neqya, north of al-Ḥillah. See Morony, *Iraq*, 148–49, 177 n. 48.

23. Aramaic Beth Rushme, north of al-Ḥillah, though Morony places it between the two branches of the Euphrates; Le Strange has it east of the eastern branch. See Morony, *Iraq*, 147–48, 177 n. 48; Le Strange, *Lands*, 70, 81, map II. Donner, *Conquests*, 334 n. 127, expresses doubts about its exact location.

24. If this town was near the other two just named, it must have been north of al-Ḥillah in the district called Bihqubādh (Veh-Kavat); otherwise it was south of al-Ḥīrah. It has been considered the ancient Vologesias. See Morony, *Iraq*, 127 (map), 152; Donner, *Conquests*, 329 n. 66. Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 288, 293, places it firmly about 35 km. southeast of al-Ḥīrah on the west bank of the Euphrates at the present town of al-Shāṭi'.

25. Buṣbuhrā b. Ṣalūbā, the Aramaean Christian *dihqān* of the districts. See Morony, *Iraq*, 148–49, 173–74. Called Ibn Ṣalūtā in Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 101.

26. Tax paid by non-Muslims to the Muslims to guarantee the peace. See *EI²*, s.v. Djizya.

27. See *EI²*, s.v. al-Furāt.

28. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, CCXVII, DCXI.

Muḥammad, and the guarantee of the Muslims regarding that. Witnessed by Hishām b. al-Walīd.[29]

Then Khālid went on with those in his company until he reached al-Ḥīrah, whose nobles came out to him with Qabīṣah b. Iyās b. Ḥayyah al-Ṭā'ī.[30] Kisrā[31] had made Qabīṣah the governor of al-Ḥīrah after al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir.[32] Khālid said to him and his companions: "I call you to God and to Islam. If you respond to the call, then you are Muslims: You obtain the benefits they enjoy and take up the responsibilities they bear. If you refuse, then [you must pay] the *jizyah*. If you refuse the *jizyah*, I will bring against you tribes of people who are more eager for death than you are for life. We will then fight you until God decides between us and you."

[2018] Qabīṣah b. Iyās answered, "We have no need to fight you; rather, we will keep to our religion and pay you the *jizyah*." Thus he made peace with the Muslims, agreeing to pay ninety thousand dirhams. This was the first *jizyah* agreed to in Iraq: al-Ḥīrah and the villages for which Ibn Ṣalūbā made the agreement.

Abū Ja'far — Hishām b. al-Kalbī:[33] When Abū Bakr wrote to Khālid b. al-Walīd while the latter was in al-Yamāmah, that he [should] set out for Syria, he also commanded him to begin with Iraq, so that he might pass through it. Khālid then began his journey from al-Yamāmah, going along until he reached al-Nibāj.[34]

Hishām — Abū Mikhnaf[35] — Abū al-Khaṭṭāb Ḥamzah b. 'Alī[36] —

29. Khālid's brother. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 323.

30. This appears to be a mistake for Iyās b. Qabīṣah, who ruled 602–11 in succession to al-Nu'mān III as the last prince of the Sāsānian tributary state of al-Ḥīrah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ğamharat*, II, 361; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 101. Conceivably that Iyās could have had a son Qabīṣah who was present here, but that is doubtful in view of the confusion about this personage in the sources. See Donner, *Conquests*, 329 n. 67.

31. Arabic name of the Sāsānian king Khusraw II Parwīz (590–628 C.E.).

32. Last Lakhmid ruler of al-Ḥīrah, c. 580–602 C.E. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir.

33. Ibn Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib, d. 206/821, the great scholar, historian, and genealogist. See *EI*[2], s.v. al-Kalbī; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 108ff.

34. Although several possible localities with this name exist, the one meant here is that on the route from al-Baṣrah to al-Yamāmah, deep in the desert. The Bakr and the Tamīm fought over it before Islam, and it was thus in Arab territory, not under Persian control. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 255–56.

35. Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā, d. 157/774, the well-known Kūfan historian. See *EI*[2], s.v. Abū Mikhnaf.

36. He is further identified as Ḥamzah b. 'Alī b. Muḥaffiz on p. 211, below, but does not seem to be found elsewhere.

a man from the Bakr b. Wā'il:[37] Al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah traveled until he reached Abū Bakr. Al-Muthannā said, "Give me command over those of my people who are nearby, and I will fight those Persians who border me and will cover my district." Abū Bakr acceded to his request. Al-Muthannā then came back, collected his men together, and began to raid the district of Kaskar[38] one time and the lowest Euphrates another time. Khālid b. al-Walīd stopped at al-Nibāj while al-Muthannā was encamped at Khaffān.[39] Khālid b. al-Walīd wrote to al-Muthannā [ordering] that the latter come to him and also sent al-Muthannā a letter from Abū Bakr enjoining him to obey Khālid. At this, al-Muthannā rushed to Khālid by fast horse until he caught up with him. The Banū 'Ijl[40] claim that one of their men named Madh'ūr b. 'Adī[41] went forth with al-Muthannā. Madh'ūr contended with al-Muthannā [over the command], so that the two of them wrote to Abū Bakr. The latter wrote back to al-'Ijlī, bidding him to go with Khālid to Syria, while he confirmed al-Muthannā in his command. Al-'Ijlī reached Egypt, where he enjoyed a noble estate and an important position. His house there is well known today.

Khālid pressed on. Jābān,[42] the governor of Ullays, opposed him. Khālid sent against him al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah, who fought and defeated Jābān, killing most of his troops beside a canal there called [2019]
Blood Canal (*nahr dam*) because of that battle. Khālid then made peace with the inhabitants of Ullays. [After this] he went on until he neared al-Ḥīrah. The cavalry of Āzādhbih,[43] who was the commander of the Sāsānian cavalry[44] stationed in outposts along the

37. The most important part of the Rabī'ah group of tribes, the Bakr were located in northeastern Arabia. They tended to be more sedentary than their nemesis, the Tamīm. They played a big role in the conquest of Iraq. See *EI*², s.v. Bakr b. Wā'il.

38. A major district east of the Great Swamp between the Euphrates and Tigris. See *EI*², s.v. Kaskar; Le Strange, *Lands*, 39, 43, 80, map II; Morony, *Iraq*, 155–59.

39. The modern Qaṣr al-Qā'im, a spring and favorite campground on the edge of the desert west of the Euphrates, 22 km. southeast of al-Qādisiyyah. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 284, and accompanying map of northern Arabia.

40. A Rabī'ah tribe later prominent in al-Kūfah and evidently already found in the vicinity before Islam. See *EI*², s.v. 'Idjl; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ğamharat*, I, 141; II, 24–26, 353.

41. On him, see Donner, *Conquests*, 181–82, 330 n. 74, 365, 378, 383, 398.

42. Attested independently as well in Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 108. See also Morony, *Iraq*, 187.

43. The *marzubān* of al-Ḥīrah. See Donner, *Conquests*, 180, 329 n. 67; Morony, *Iraq*, 187.

44. Lit., "Kisrā's cavalry."

frontier between the Sāsānian domains and the Arabs, came out to fight Khālid. They met the Muslims at the confluence of the rivers. Al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah went against the Iranian cavalry, and God routed them. When the people of al-Ḥīrah saw that, they came out to receive Khālid. Among them were ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. ʿAmr b. Buqaylah[45] and Hāniʾ b. Qabīṣah.[46]

Khālid asked ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, "From where do you come?" He replied, "From my father's back." Khālid asked, "From where did you come out?" ʿAbd al-Masīḥ answered, "From my mother's womb." Khālid said, "Woe to you! On what are you standing?" He replied, "On the ground." Khālid said, "Woe to you! What are you in?" ʿAbd al-Masīḥ responded, "In my clothes." Khālid said, "Woe to you! Do you comprehend (*taʿqil*)?" He replied, "Yes, and I register (*uqayyid*) too."[47] Khālid said, "I only ask you." ʿAbd al-Masīḥ said, "And I answer you." Khālid then asked, "Are you for peace or war?" ʿAbd al-Masīḥ replied, "For peace." Khālid went on, "Then what are these fortresses that I see?" ʿAbd al-Masīḥ answered, "We built them for the foolish, in order to confine him, until the mild-tempered comes to restrain him."[48]

Then Khālid said to them, "I call you to God, to His worship, and to Islam. If you accept, you obtain the benefits we enjoy and take up the responsibilities we bear. If you refuse, then [you must pay] the *jizyah*. If you refuse the *jizyah*, then we will bring against you a people who love death more than you love drinking wine." They answered, "We have no need to fight you." He made peace with them on [the payment of] one hundred and ninety thousand dirhams.[49] It

45. Al-Azdī. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 207; II, 126; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 297; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 485; Donner, *Conquests*, 183, 331 n. 83; Morony, *Iraq*, 176.

46. Hāniʾ b. Qabīṣah b. Hāniʾ b. Masʿūd al-Shaybānī. Abū ʿUbaydah says he already was an important leader at the time of the Battle of Dhū Qār, but that statement also could refer to his grandfather. See Ṭabarī, I, 1028–29; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 149; II, 279; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 297; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 293–94; Donner, *Conquests*, 183, 331 n. 84.

47. This contains an untranslatable play on the two words, both of which mean "to bind or tie," in addition to their other meanings.

48. This story appears in a slightly different form in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 297, and also is repeated below, p. 33.

49. Elsewhere the payment of al-Ḥīrah is said to have been eighty, eighty-four, or one hundred thousand dirhams, the latter possibly rounded up from the former figures, which have the authority of Yaḥyā b. Ādam. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 297–98. This report would seem to represent the mathematical sum of two versions giving ninety and one hundred thousand as the amount.

was the first *jizyah* that was borne to Medina from Iraq.

After this Khālid descended on Bāniqyā. Buṣbuhrā b. Ṣalūbā made peace with him on the payment of one thousand dirhams and a hooded cloak (*ṭaylasān*). Khālid wrote a document for them.

Khālid made peace with the inhabitants of al-Ḥīrah in exchange [2020] for their agreeing to scout,[50] which they did.

Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mujālid b. Saʿīd[51]—al-Shaʿbī: The Banū Buqaylah[52] read to me the letter of Khālid b. al-Walīd to the inhabitants of al-Madāʾin:[53]

> From Khālid b. al-Walīd to the rulers of the Persians: Peace be upon whosoever follows right guidance. Praise be to God, Who has scattered your servants, wrested your sovereignty away, and rendered your plotting weak. Whoever worships the way we worship, faces the direction we face in prayer, and eats meat slaughtered in our fashion, that person is a Muslim who obtains the benefits we enjoy and takes up the responsibilities we bear. Now then, when you receive this letter, send me hostages and place yourselves under my protection. Otherwise, by Him other than Whom there is no god, I will most certainly send against you a people who love death just as you love life.

When they read this letter, they became astonished. That was in the year 12.

Abū Jaʿfar: As for others beside Ibn Isḥāq, Hishām, and those I have mentioned before, regarding the matter of Khālid and his march to Iraq, they include what was reported by [the following]:

ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿd al-Zuhrī—his uncle—Sayf b. ʿUmar—ʿAmr b. Muḥammad—al-Shaʿbī: When Khālid b. al-Walīd was done with al-Yamāmah, Abū Bakr wrote to him, "God has given you victory; therefore, go into Iraq until you meet ʿIyāḍ."[54] He also wrote to ʿIyāḍ

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50. Kos. has *help* here instead, which is also possible.

51. Al-Hamdānī, d. 144/762, a Kūfan traditionist. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 103; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 39–41.

52. Of the Azd. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 207; II, 312 (under al-Ḥārith b. Subain Buqaila).

53. The former Sāsānian capital of Ctesiphon east of the Tigris.

54. ʿIyāḍ b. (ʿAbd) Ghanm b. Zuhayr al-Fihrī, the famous conqueror of upper Mesopotamia, d. 20/641. His mention here would imply that Khālid's orders were to enter Iraq from the middle or south, then pass through it to the north, possibly following

b. Ghanm when he was between al-Nibāj and al-Ḥijāz, "Go until you reach al-Muṣayyakh.[55] Begin with it, then enter Iraq from its uppermost part and penetrate it until you meet Khālid. Let both of you permit whoever wants to return to do so. And do not open the campaign with mutual aversion." When the letter came to Khālid and
[2021] ʿIyāḍ, they allowed men to return according to the command of Abū Bakr. The people of Medina and its vicinity went back, leaving the forces of the two commanders bare. Therefore they sought reinforcements from Abū Bakr. Abū Bakr reinforced Khālid with al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr al-Tamīmī.[56] Abū Bakr was told, "Are you reinforcing a man whose troops have deserted him with [only] one man?" Abū Bakr answered, "An army in which there is the like of this man will not be defeated." He also reinforced ʿIyāḍ with ʿAbd b. ʿAwf al-Ḥimyarī.[57] Abū Bakr wrote to the two commanders, saying, "Call to arms those who fought against the apostates (*ahl al-riddah*)[58] and those who have remained steadfast to Islam after the Prophet. Do not let anyone who had apostatized campaign with you until I give my opinion." The campaigns of conquest (*al-ayyām*) did not subsequently see any apostate [participating].

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the Euphrates. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 35; II, 360; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 398; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 131, 142, 158; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 165–66, 174, 176–77, 204–10, 221, 225, 236, 409; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 48, 50; Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 39–40.

55. The actual location of this place is doubtful, as it may lie in either Syria or Iraq. A middle course would place it on the Euphrates toward Syria. See Donner, *Conquests*, 312 n. 163, 333 nn. 113–14; Morony, *Iraq*, 192. Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 311, places it at ʿAyn al-Arnab, a desert spring about 42 km. west of Hīt on the Euphrates.

56. Though often referred to in this volume, he is probably a legendary character invented to glorify Sayf's tribal group, the Tamīm, and in particular his subtribe, the Usayyid. The fact that he is made out to be an Usayyidī like Sayf suggests that Sayf rather than his informants is responsible for inventing him. This al-Qaʿqāʿ is absent from the genealogy books, and there is no evidence for his existence outside of Sayf's reports, as shown in Donner, *Conquests*, 365, 370, 390–91, 406, 409–10, 430. Reports mentioning al-Qaʿqāʿ, like this one, usually contain legendary glorifications. See al-ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa miʾah ṣaḥābī*, 71–146, and *ʿAbdallāh b. Sabaʾ*, 161–81. He is the alleged brother of the commander ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr al-Usayyidī, whose existence is independently attested in Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 108, 110. The existence of this ʿĀṣim may have suggested the invention of al-Qaʿqāʿ.

57. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 99, gives *b. Ghawth*. He is unknown from any source other than Sayf, from whom Ibn Ḥajar's report is probably derived.

58. On the so-called Apostasy Wars of the year 11/632–33, see Volume X of this translation series.

When the letter came to Khālid appointing him to command in Iraq, he wrote to Ḥarmalah,[59] Sulmā,[60] al-Muthannā, and Madhʿūr, ordering them to join him. He also ordered them to bring their troops against al-Ubullah on an appointed day, which he named. That was because Abū Bakr, in his letter, [had] commanded Khālid when he entered Iraq to begin with the gateway to the people of Sind and India, which today is al-Ubullah. Then Khālid gathered to arms whoever was between him and Iraq. In this way he mobilized eight thousand from the Rabīʿah and the Muḍar,[61] adding them to the two thousand who were already with him. After that he came with this ten thousand to [add to] the eight thousand who were with the four amīrs, meaning by the four amīrs al-Muthannā, Madhʿūr, Sulmā, and Ḥarmalah. Thus he met Hurmuz[62] with eighteen thousand men.

ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf b. ʿUmar—al-Muhallab al-Asadī[63] —ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Siyāh,[64] and Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam[65]—al-Mughī-

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59. Ḥarmalah b. Muraytah al-ʿAdawī of the Tamīm, mentioned only by Sayf. See Donner, *Conquests*, 417, 425, 434. His name and that of his father are both terms for garments, meaning approximately "Wrap, the son of Skirt," which suggests a legendary invention. The inclusion of the two Tamīmīs illustrates Sayf's anxiety to show the role of the Tamīm in the conquest, which in fact was accomplished more by the Rabīʿah, in conjunction with certain Ḥijāzī tribes. Al-ʿAskarī gives a detailed analysis, in which he denies Ḥarmalah's existence. See al-ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa miʾah ṣaḥābī*, 245–60.

60. Sulmā b. al-Qayn al-ʿAdawī of the Tamīm, always mentioned by Sayf in conjunction with Ḥarmalah, as here, and also said to be an imaginary figure; see previous note. However, his mention by Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 67; II, 509, with a complete genealogy shows that he was not invented by Sayf but already existed in the Tamīmī tribal tradition and could have been a real person.

61. Two of the great tribal groupings of the Arabs, the Rabīʿah and the Muḍar represent the two major branches of the Nizār or Maʿadd. This genealogical connection could be brought forth to jusify an alliance in case of need, but more often the Rabīʿah were at odds with the Muḍar in Islamic times. The Rabīʿah generally derived from settled or partly settled tribes of eastern Arabia and Iraq, whereas the Muḍar tended to represent the nomads of northern Arabia. See *EI*[1], *Supplement*, s.v. Rabīʿa and Muḍar.

62. This commander appears only in Sayf and probably is a fabrication of the tribal tradition, as Caetani, *Annali*, II, 957 n. 3, holds. The name may have been suggested by that of the *mawlā* Hurmuz, who was captured at ʿAyn al-Tamr and whose descendants lived in al-Baṣrah in early ʿAbbāsid times. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 102.

63. Ibn ʿUqbah, unknown except in Sayf's *isnāds*.

64. Al-Aḥmarī, unknown except in Sayf's *isnāds*.

65. Al-Ḥanafī; he occurs almost exclusively in Sayf's *isnāds* and very frequently is

[2022] rah b. ʿUtaybah:[66] Abū Bakr wrote to Khālid b. al-Walīd, when he made him commander on the Iraqi front, enjoining him to enter it from its lowest reaches. [He also wrote] to ʿIyāḍ, when he made him commander on the Iraqi front, that he [should] enter it from its uppermost part. Then they would race to al-Ḥīrah, and whoever reached al-Ḥīrah first would become the commander of the other. He also said, "When you have joined each other at al-Ḥīrah, have broken the defenses to Persia, and are sure that the Muslims will not be attacked from behind, let one of you cover the Muslims and his comrade [by staying] at al-Ḥīrah. Let the other attack God's enemy and your enemy among the Persians in their own house and the abode of their power: al-Madā'in."

ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — al-Mujālid — al-Shaʿbī: Khālid wrote to Hurmuz before the latter's going forth with Āzādhbih, the ancestor of al-Zayādhibah[67] who are in al-Yamāmah. Hurmuz was then the commander of that front. [Khālid's letter read,] "Now then, embrace Islam so that you may be safe, or else make a treaty of protection for yourself and your people and agree to pay the *jizyah*. Otherwise, do not at all blame anyone but yourself, for I have brought you a people who love death as you love life."

Sayf — Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam — al-Mughīrah b. ʿUtaybah, who was the judge of the people of al-Kūfah: When Khālid departed from al-Yamāmah for Iraq, he divided his troops into three groups. He did not send them by one way. Rather, he sent out al-Muthannā, with his guide Ẓafar, two days ahead of him. Then he sent out ʿAdī b. Ḥātim[68]

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quoted by him in this and other volumes of Ṭabarī. For his full name, see Ṭabarī, I, 221, below. Al-ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa mi'ah ṣaḥābī*, 274, 278, points out, however, that this Ṭalḥah is attested as a transmitter in an *isnād* other than through Sayf; the one such case of this that I have come across is in Ṭabarī, I, 3139, which would show that he is not one of Sayf's inventions. Ḥanẓalah b. al-Aʿlam, who appears in Ṭabarī, I, 3249, is probably a Ḥanafī and in the right generation to be Ṭalḥah's brother.

66. Al-Mughīrah b. ʿUtaybah b. al-Nahhās al-ʿIjlī. He was appointed the judge of al-Kūfah by either ʿUmar b. Hubayrah (gov. 103–5/722–24) or Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh (gov. 105–20/724–38). See Wakīʿ, *Quḍāh*, 23–24.

67. Presumably a plural of al-Zādhabī or rather al-Zādhabihī. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXI; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, VI, 228; Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, I, 488 (al-Zādhabihī).

68. Son of the famous pre-Islamic poet Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī, who was renowned for his generosity. ʿAdī was the most important leader of the Ṭayyi' in early Islam. See EI^2, s.v. ʿAdī b. Ḥātim; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 256; II, 139; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 402; Donner, *Conquests*, 33, 178–79, 195, 201, 243, 371, 385, 387.

and ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr[69] and their guides Mālik b. ʿAbbād[70] and Sālim b. Naṣr, one before the other by a day. Finally, Khālid and his guide Rāfiʿ [2023] set out. Khālid had set for all of them a redezvous at al-Ḥufayr,[71] where they were to combine and fight their enemy. The gateway of India was the most important and the most strongly guarded of the entrances into Persia, and its commander would fight the Arabs on the land and the Indians at sea. (Al-Muhallab b. ʿUqbah and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Siyāh al-Aḥmarī—to whom the Ḥamrāʾ attribute their origin and are thus called Ḥamrāʾ Siyāh[72]—also participated with Khālid).

When Khālid's letter reached Hurmuz, he sent the news to Shīrā b. Kisrā[73] and to Ardashīr b. Shīrā[74] and mobilized his forces. Then he hastened to al-Kawāẓim[75] with those of his forces who were first

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69. Al-Usayyidī, whose alleged brother is al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr al-Tamīmī. ʿĀṣim's existence is rejected as legendary by al-ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa miʾah ṣaḥābī*, 149–78, and *ʿAbdallāh b. Sabaʾ*, 182–85; however, his participation in a raid against Jūbarah (or Jawbarah) in the Kaskar district is attested in Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 108, in a report from Ibn Isḥāq, which would show that this ʿĀṣim was not fabricated by Sayf, though Sayf has exaggerated his role. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 110, mentions his participation at the disastrous Battle of the Bridge. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 196, also reports his presence at al-Qādisiyyah. Donner, *Conquests*, 370, 378, 390, 406, 425, summarizes the list of reports about him, all of which probably derive from Sayf except that of Ibn Khayyāṭ.

70. Al-Awsī of the Anṣār. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 177; II, 384. Not mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar in *Iṣābah* or by Maqdisī in *Istibṣār*.

71. The first stage on the pilgrimage route from al-Baṣrah to Mecca. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 277.

72. This implies that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Siyāh in fact may be a legendary eponymous ancestor, for the Ḥamrāʾ were certainly not all descended from one male ancestor contemporary with Khālid b. al-Walīd. On the Ḥamrāʾ, see Morony, *Iraq*, 197, 243. However, note that the texts on which he relies are drawn exclusively from Sayf's reports in Ṭabarī and that these texts contain exaggerated legendary matter regarding "al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr," who is made the commander of the Ḥamrāʾ.

73. An anachronism representing Shīrūyah, who ruled as Qubādh II over the Sāsānian empire in February–September 628 C.E., before dying of the plague. Christensen, *L'Iran*, 487–91; *CHI*, III/1, 170; Caetani, *Annali*, II, 951 n. 1, 957 n. 4.

74. An anachronism representing Ardashīr III, who reigned over the Sāsānian realm September 628 – April 630. See Morony, *Iraq*, 72. According to *CHI*, III/1, 170–71, however, he had already been killed in June 629. Also Ardashīr appears as an adult in Sayf's reports, whereas he actually seems to have been a very young child. See also Christensen, *L'Iran*, 491–92; Frye, *The History of Ancient Iran*, 337, 361; Caetani, *Annali*, II, 957 n. 4, 963 n. 1.

75. The same as (al-)Kāẓimah, a watering place containing many wells of brackish water two stages south of al-Baṣrah on the road to al-Baḥrayn. It also was the southern extremity of the great trench dug by the Sāsānian king Sābūr II Dhū al-Aktāf (309–

to arrive, in order to meet Khālid, sending ahead his fast horses, but he did not find it to be Khālid's trail. However, Hurmuz learned that the Muslims had set a rendezvous at al-Ḥufayr; therefore he changed his line of march, preceding them[76] to al-Ḥufayr. Hurmuz stopped there to arrange his forces. He put in charge of his two wings[77] two brothers named Qubādh and Anūshajān,[78] who shared a common descent with Ardashīr and Shīrā from Ardashīr the Great.[79] The Persians bound themselves together in chains. Those who did not favor that said to those who did, "You have chained yourselves for your enemy! Do not do so, for this is an evil omen." Those chained answered the others, saying, "As for you, you are telling[80] us that you intend to flee."

When the news reached Khālid that Hurmuz was at al-Ḥufayr, he turned his troops toward Kāẓimah.[81] That reached Hurmuz, who then hastened to precede Khālid to Kāẓimah and reached it exhausted. Hurmuz was one of the worst of the governors of that frontier in his treatment of the Arabs, so that all the Arabs were enraged at him. He had become a proverbial paragon of wickedness to them,
[2024] so that they would say, "More wicked than Hurmuz" and "More ungrateful than Hurmuz."

Hurmuz and his troops ordered their ranks, binding themselves with chains. The water was in their hands. Khālid, coming against them, stopped in a waterless place. His men spoke to him about that; therefore, he commanded his herald to say, "Will you not make camp and put down your baggage, then fight them over the water?

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79 C.E.) as far as Hīt on the Euphrates to keep the Arabs out of Iraq. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 431; Caetani, *Annali*, II, 957 n. 7.

76. Text: *yubādiruh*; read: *yubādiruhum*, as in Ms. C.

77. Text: *mujannabatih*; read: *mujannabatayh*, as in Kos., IH², and Ibn Kathīr.

78. Qubādh is found only in Sayf's transmissions and is possibly an embellishment. But Anūshajān was evidently a member of one of the prominent Persian noble families of al-Sawād. He is called the son of Jushnasmā = Gushnasp Māh, who may have held the rank of *hirbadh*. See Ṭabarī, I, 2245; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 119 (where he is called al-Nūshajān); Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 418; Morony, *Iraq*, 186.

79. Founder of the Sāsānian royal house, he ruled 224–41 C.E. See Frye, *The History of Ancient Iran*, 292, 294. The tradition that the family of Anūshajān was a branch of the Sāsānian royal house also is found independently in Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 114, with reference to his first cousin Ṭamāhīj.

80. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXI.

81. Apparently the same as al-Kawāẓim just mentioned. See note 75, above.

For, by my life, the water will most assuredly go to the more persistent of the two forces and the most noble of the two armies." Then the baggage was put down while the cavalry was standing by. The infantry came forward and then advanced against the enemy until it met them and the two sides fought. God sent a cloud, which left [puddles of] water[82] behind the Muslims' line, thereby giving them strength. When the daylight shone forth, there was no chained man in the valley.

ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAṭāʾ al-Bakkāʾī:[83] Likewise. Both this and the preceding *isnāds* report: Hurmuz sent his men treacherously to trick Khālid, and they plotted with him to do that. Thus Hurmuz went forth while different men [of his] called out, "Where is Khālid?" Meanwhile, Hurmuz had made an arrangement with his horsemen [to surprise Khālid]. When Khālid showed himself[84] Hurmuz dismounted and summoned him to individual combat. Khālid dismounted and walked over to Hurmuz. They met, exchanging a couple of blows. When Khālid seized him closely, Hurmuz's bodyguards attacked treacherously and pursued Khālid. But that did not keep Khālid from killing Hurmuz. Al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr attacked Hurmuz's bodyguards, laying them low,[85] while Khālid was fighting them. The Persians were defeated. The Muslims rode hard in pursuit of them until night. Khālid collected their equipment, which included the chains. These were a camel load, a thousand pounds (*raṭl*). The battle was called Dhāt al- [2025]
Salāsil.[86] Qubādh and Anūshajān escaped.

ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — ʿAmr b. Muḥammad — al-Shaʿbī: The Persians made their conical caps (*qalānis*) suit the level of their ranks in their tribes (*ʿashāʾir*). Those of the highest nobility had caps worth one hundred thousand dirhams. As Hurmuz was from among the highest nobility, his cap was worth one hundred

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82. Text: *mā*; read: *māʾ*.

83. Another name known only from Sayf's *isnāds*.

84. Text: *nazal*; read: *baraz*, as in IH.

85. Text: *anāmūhum*; read: *anāmahum*.

86. This battle, which is found only in Sayf, has the same name as the expedition of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī in the year 8/629, where it refers to a place. Probably Sayf has only taken a popular etymology that would suggest itself for that battle and created another battle out of it. On ʿAmr's expedition, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 623–24; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 769–74; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 131.

thousand. Abū Bakr gave it as spoil to Khālid. It was inlaid with jewels. The highest nobility among the Persians is to be from [one of] the seven houses.[87]

ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — Muḥammad b. Nuwayrah[88] — Ḥanẓalah b. Ziyād b. Ḥanẓalah:[89] When those sent out in pursuit came back on that day, Khālid's herald called [on the troops] to break camp. Khālid went with his forces, followed by the baggage train, until he stopped at the site of the present great bridge at al-Baṣrah. Qubādh and Anūshajān had escaped. Khālid sent news of the victory and what was left of the spoils (*akhmās*), as well as the elephant, [to Medina] and also proclaimed the victory to his men. When Zirr b. Kulayb[90] brought the elephant along with the spoils and it was led around in Medina so that the people might see it, the weak among the women would say, "Is what we are seeing from among God's creatures?" for they considered it invented. Then Abū Bakr sent it back with Zirr.

When Khālid stopped at the site of the present great bridge at al-Baṣrah, he sent al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah in pursuit of the enemy. He also sent Maʿqil b. Muqarrin al-Muzanī[91] to al-Ubullah to collect its money and captives for him. Maʿqil went forth until he reached al-Ubullah and then collected the money and captives.

Abū Jaʿfar: This story about al-Ubullah and its capture differs from what is known to the biographers and differs from what the
[2026] true traditions have brought [us].[92] For the conquest of al-Ubullah was only in the days of ʿUmar, when it was accomplished at the hands of ʿUtbah b. Ghazwān[93] in the year 14 (635–36) of the *hijrah*.

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87. Text: *buyūtāt*; read: *al-buyūtāt*, as IH.

88. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Sawād b. Nuwayrah, another transmitter unknown except in the *isnāds* of Sayf's reports. The element *b. Sawād* in his nomenclature suggests "a son of the soil of Iraq." For his full name, see p. 221, below.

89. Possibly an imaginary transmitter made up by Sayf. See al-ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa miʾah ṣaḥābī*, 238–39.

90. Mentioned only by Sayf. Donner, *Conquests*, 373, 434.

91. Brother of al-Nuʿmān b. Muqarrin, the Muslim commander at Nihāwand. Also said to have been killed at Nihāwand. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 19; Donner, *Conquests*, 328 n. 64, 371, 429.

92. Al-Ṭabarī here takes the rare and unusual step of denouncing Sayf's story of the conquest of al-Ubullah by Khālid b. al-Walīd as false. This is remarkable because he has just spent several pages relating this same story. However, it must be admitted that some of the points of Sayf's story also are related by Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 100–1, with *isnāds* from others than Sayf.

93. Al-Māzinī of the Qaysī Māzin b. Manṣūr, a confederate of the Quraysh, d. 17/638, an early Muslim and Companion of the Prophet. His leadership of the conquest

We will mention this matter and the story of its conquest when we reach that [time], God willing.

Continuation of the report of Sayf—Muḥammad b. Nuwayrah—Ḥanẓalah b. Ziyād: Al-Muthannā went along until he reached the canal of the woman (*nahr al-mar'ah*),[94] where he came to the fortress in which the woman was [holding out]. He left al-Muʿannā b. Ḥārithah[95] to besiege her in her castle. Meanwhile, al-Muthannā moved against the man, besieging him. Al-Muthannā stormed their positions by force, killing them and dividing up their property as spoil. When the woman heard that, she made peace with al-Muthannā and became a Muslim. After that al-Muʿannā married her.

Khālid and his amīrs did not move the peasants during any of their conquests, because Abū Bakr had instructed him beforehand [not to do so]. Thus he took captive the children of the fighters who had been acting on behalf of the Persians but left alone those of the peasants who had not resisted, making a covenant of protection for them.

On the day of Dhāt al-Salāsil and al-Thiny,[96] the share of a horseman [in the spoils] reached one thousand dirhams, whereas that of a foot soldier was a third of that.

The Battle of al-Madhār[97]

[This battle] occurred in Ṣafar 12 (17 April–15 May 633). In those days people would say, "The Ṣafar of Ṣafars,[98] in which every mighty

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of al-Ubullah and founding of al-Baṣrah are well attested in many sources. See *EI*[1], s.v. ʿOtba b. Ghazwān; Donner, *Conquests*, 411–13; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 98–99, VII, 5–8; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 113–15; Yaʿqūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 163; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 121, II, 577; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 260–61.

94. A canal that led into the Tigris from the west a little north of al-Ubullah. Donner, *Conquests*, 179, 329 n. 66. Her name is given as Ṭamāhīj or Kāmin Dār. She is called the wife of Anūshajān and variously described as the daughter of Khusraw II, which is unlikely, or of Khusraw II's alleged relation Narsī. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 100, 114; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 418; Morony, *Iraq*, 186. The canal's mention as Nahr al-Murrah in Ibn Khayyāṭ is a mistake, but Ibn Khayyāṭ's version also states, in contrast to Sayf's typically bloody version given here, that the woman made peace with the Muslims for twelve thousand dirhams.

95. Al-Muthannā's possibly legendary brother, known only from Sayf's reports. Donner, *Conquests*, 382, 397–98.

96. The same as al-Madhār in the next report. Al-Thiny refers to a canal there.

97. This place also actually was conquered by ʿUtbah b. Ghazwān later, so that Sayf's report here is chronologically improbable. See Morony, *Iraq*, 127 (map), 160; Donner, *Conquests*, 329 n. 66.

98. Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 292–93, insists that this phrase shows that this battle actually occurred in October 633.

oppressor was slain upon the confluence of the rivers."

ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—Ziyād[99] and al-Muhallab—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Siyāh al-Aḥmarī; but in the version of al-Sarī[100]—Shuʿayb[101]—Sayf (the report is from Sayf)—al-Muhallab b. ʿUqbah,
[2027] Ziyād b. Sarjis al-Aḥmarī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Siyāh al-Aḥmarī, and Sufyān al-Aḥmarī:[102] Hurmuz had written to Ardashīr and Shīrā with the news of Khālid's letter to him about his setting out from al-Yamāmah against him. Ardashīr[103] supplied Hurmuz with Qārin b. Qaryānis.[104] Qārin went forth from al-Madā'in to reinforce Hurmuz until, when he came to al-Madhār, word of the defeat reached him, as well as those who were fleeing from it. They encouraged each other to [return to the] fight, the remnants of [the forces of] al-Ahwāz[105] and Fārs saying to the remnants of al-Sawād and al-Jabal,[106] "If you split up, you will never join together again afterward. Therefore join together to go back [to fight] once more. These are the king's reinforcements, and this is Qārin. It may be that God will give us victory and cure us of our enemy, so that we may regain some of that which they took from us." They followed this advice, making camp[107] at al-Madhār. Qārin put Qubādh and Anūshajān in charge of his two wings.[108]

Al-Muthannā and al-Muʿannā brought back the news to Khālid. When the news reached Khālid about Qārin, he divided the spoils among those to whom it had been granted by God and also distributed a certain amount from the [state's] fifth. He then sent al-Walīd b. ʿUqbah[109] to Abū Bakr with the rest of the fifth and the news of the victory, as well as the report about the enemy's gathering by the twisting stream (*thiny*), both those of them needing help and those

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99. Ibn Sarjis al-Aḥmarī, another informant of Sayf whose name occurs only in Sayf's *isnāds*.

100. Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā, as elsewhere in Ṭabarī.

101. Shuʿayb b. Ibrāhīm. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 106.

102. Unknown except in Sayf's *isnāds*.

103. Or Shīrā.

104. Vocalization conjectural.

105. The capital of Khūzistān in southwestern Iran. See *EI*², s.v. al-Ahwāz.

106. The mountainous region of Media in western Iran, centered around Hamadhān. See *EI*², s.v. Djibāl.

107. Text: *ʿaskar*; read: *ʿaskarū*, as IH and Cairo ed.

108. Text: *mujannabatih*; read: *mujannabatayh*, as Kos., IH, and Ibn Kathīr.

109. ʿUthmān's notorious half-brother and governor of al-Kūfah, he died at al-Balīkh near al-Raqqah in the reign of Muʿāwiyah. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 138–40; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 637–38.

coming to the rescue. (The Arabs call every river[110] *nahr*, a twisting stream *thiny*. Khālid went forth, going along until he descended on Qārin with his masses of troops at al-Madhār. The two sides met while Khālid was in battle formation. They fought with rage and rancor. Qārin came out to challenge the Muslims to individual combat. Khālid and Abyaḍ al-Rukbān[111] Maʿqil b. al-Aʿshā b. al-Nabbāsh[112] responded to the challenge, racing for him. Maʿqil beat Khālid to Qārin and killed him, while ʿĀṣim slew Anūshajān[113] and ʿAdī slew Qubādh. Qārin's nobility had lapsed. After him the Muslims did not fight anyone whose nobility had lapsed among the Persians. An [2028] enormous number of the Persians were slain. At this the Persians gathered their ships together, so that the waters kept the Muslims from pursuing them.

Khālid stayed at al-Madhār. He turned over the spoils to those who had taken them [in combat], as much as these spoils amounted to. He divided [the four-fifths of] the spoils [that the troops were entitled to among them] and also gave out of the fifths to those who had been tried in battle. Then he sent the rest of the fifths with a delegation under Saʿīd b. al-Nuʿmān[114] of the Banū ʿAdī b. Kaʿb.[115]

ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh—Abū ʿUthmān:[116] Thirty thousand were slain on the night of al-Madhār, aside from those who were drowned. If not for the water [obstructing the Muslims' pursuit], they would have been wiped out completely. Those who escaped did not get away except weaponless or virtually so.

Sayf — ʿAmr and Mujālid — al-Shaʿbī: The first to encounter Khālid when he descended on Iraq was Hurmuz at al-Kawāẓim. Then he stopped on the Euphrates on the Tigris bank,[117] finding no

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110. Or, "canal."

111. Lit., "the white horseman."

112. Cited only by Sayf, in this report. Donner, *Conquests*, 373.

113. Text: al-Anūshajān; read: Anūshajān.

114. Cited only by Sayf. Donner, *Conquests*, 374.

115. The text is not entirely clear, but it appears that Khālid is portrayed as distributing some of the fifth of the spoils to which the government was entitled among those who had stood out in the battle.

116. Either Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī or Abū ʿUthmān Yazīd b. Asīd al-Ghassānī, neither of whom is found anywhere except in the *isnāds* of Sayf in Ṭabarī. For their complete names, see pp. 87, 94, 107, 193, below; and Ṭabarī, I, 2226.

117. This odd phrase appears to mean that Khālid, after having been at al-Kawāẓim, in the relative safety of the desert south of al-Baṣrah, ventured to cross the Eu-

treachery and having an easy time there. Then came al-Thiny. He did not meet anyone after Hurmuz but that the subsequent battle was greater than that which had preceded it, until he came to Dūmat al-Jandal.[118] He increased the share of a horseman in the spoils on the day of al-Thiny above what it had been at Dhāt al-Salāsil. Khālid remained at al-Thiny, taking captive the families of the [enemy's] troops and those who had helped them. But he left the peasants alone, as well as whoever agreed to pay the *kharāj*[119] among all the people after they had been summoned [to do so]. All that had been conquered by force, but nevertheless they were invited to pay the *kharāj*.[120] They responded favorably, returned, and came under the protection of the Muslims, while their land became theirs. This
[2029] is how what had not been divided [as spoils] was treated, but, if it had been divided, it was not [returned].

Among the captives were Ḥabīb Abū al-Ḥasan, that is, the father of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,[121] who was a Christian, as well as Māfannah,[122] the *mawlā*[123] of ʿUthmān, and Abū Zayd, the *mawlā* of al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah.[124]

Khālid put Saʿid b. al-Nuʿmān in charge of the troops and Suwayd b. Muqarrin al-Muzanī[125] in charge of the *kharāj*.[126] He commanded

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phrates to the other bank, the one nearer to the Tigris and thus called the *Tigris bank*. This is confirmed by the context, which shows that he was exercising caution in the new environment. The whole report occurs also in the context of his campaign up the lower Tigris.

118. The present oasis of al-Jawf in northern Saudi Arabia, to which Khālid is said to have gone on his departure from Iraq for Syria. See *EI²*, s.v. Dūmat al-Djandal.

119. The land tax, but often used in historical texts interchangeably with *jizyah*. See *EI²*, s.v. Kharādj.

120. Text: *al-jizā'*; read: *al-kharāj*, as Ms. C.

121. The famous early scholar of al-Baṣrah, who lived 21–110/642–729. But his father's name is more usually given as Yasār. See *EI²*, s.v. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 263–70.

122. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 414; XII, 309, provides the information that Māfannah was a woman's name.

123. A *mawlā* is basically a client of an Arab tribe. In the Jāhiliyyah *mawlās* appear to have been most often freed slaves, as is the case here. But in Islamic times, in the wake of the early conquests, it became normal for a non-Arab embracing Islam to enroll in an Arab tribe under the sponsorship of a tribal member as his *mawlā*, and this latter sense of *mawlā* as client became more widespread than the first meaning. The second meaning is virtually ignored in *EI¹*, s.v. Mawlā.

124. These two *mawlās* do not seem to appear elsewhere.

125. Brother of al-Nuʿmān b. al-Muqarrin, he particpated in the conquest of Tihāmah, settled in al-Kūfah, and took part in later campaigns in Iraq and Iran. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 19; Donner, *Conquests*, 87, 371, 406, 428–29, 438.

126. Text: *al-jizā'*: read: *al-kharāj*.

the latter to scatter his agents about and put his hand on the tax money. Then he waited for his enemy, gathering intelligence.

The Battle of al-Walajah[127]

Next, [the Battle of al-Walajah] occurred in Ṣafar 12 (17 April–15 May 633). Al-Walajah is among the districts directly adjoining Kaskar.

ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—ʿAmr and Mujālid—al-Shaʿbī: When Khālid was done with al-Thiny and the news reached Ardashīr, the latter sent forth al-Andarzaghar,[128] who was a Persian from among the mixed-bloods of al-Sawād.

ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—Ziyād b. Sarjis—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Siyāh; and al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Muhallab b. ʿUqbah, Ziyād b. Sarjis, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Siyāh: When news of the defeat of Qārin and the army at al-Madhār reached Ardashīr, he sent al-Andarzaghar, who was a Persian from among the mixed-bloods of al-Sawād and one of its inhabitants. However, he was not among those who had been born at al-Madā'in, nor had he grown up there. Ardashīr then sent Bahman Jādhūyah after him with an army, [2030]
commanding him to cross the path of al-Andarzaghar. Before that al-Andarzaghar had been in charge of the frontier of Khurāsān. Al-Andarzaghar set out, going from al-Madā'in until he came to Kaskar. Then he passed beyond it to al-Walajah. Bahman Jādhūyah followed after him, taking another way, going through the middle of al-Sawād. Of those between al-Ḥīrah and Kaskar both the Arabs of that quarter and the *dihqāns*[129] mustered to join al-Andarzaghar. These camped beside his camp at al-Walajah. When those forces he desired had joined him and become complete, [the strength] he possessed pleased him, so that he resolved to march against Khālid.

When the news about al-Andarzaghar and his encampment at al-Walajah reached Khālid while he was at al-Thiny, he commanded [his forces] to decamp. He left behind Suwayd b. Muqarrin, ordering him to stay at al-Ḥufayr, and also sent forward to those whom he had left behind on the lowest reaches of the Tigris, commanding them to

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127. See Donner, *Conquests*, 329 n. 66; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 293, places it at ʿAyn Dāhik near the Euphrates about 52 km. southeast of al-Ḥīrah.

128. Unidentified.

129. Local notables of the Sāsānian empire and its former territories in the caliphate. See *EI*², s.v. Dihḳān.

be wary and to avoid negligence and overconfidence. He then went forth with the rest of his troops toward al-Walajah until he attacked al-Andarzaghar, his troops, and those who had gathered to him. They fought a hard battle, greater than the battle of Thiny.

ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — Muḥammad — [130] Abū ʿUthmān: Khālid attacked al-Andarzaghar at al-Walajah in Ṣafar. They fought a hard battle there so that the two sides thought that their ability to persevere had been exhausted. Khālid considered his ambush too slow. He had laid an ambush for the enemy on two sides. These forces were commanded by Busr b. Abī Ruhm[131] and Saʿīd b. Murrah al-ʿIjlī.[132] When the ambush came out from two directions, the ranks of the Persians were defeated and they turned in flight. Khālid then took them from the front and the ambush from behind,
[2031] so that no man among them saw his companion being slain. Al-Andarzaghar escaped from his defeat but died of thirst.

Khālid stood up to speak, making the men desire the land of the Persians and shun the land of the Arabs. He said, "Do you not regard [your] food like a dusty gulch? By God, if struggle for God's sake and calling [people] to God were not required of us, and there were no consideration except [our] livelihood, the [wise] opinion would [still] have been that we strike this countryside until we possess it and that we leave hunger and decrease to whoever of those too slow to join your enterprise possesses them."

Khālid behaved among the peasants as he had previously. He did not kill them but took captive the children of the warriors and those who had aided them. He called on the inhabitants of the land to pay the *jizyah* and accept protection. Then they withdrew.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf, and ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — ʿAmr — al-Shaʿbī: On the day of al-Walajah Khālid fought in single combat a Persian who was equal to a thousand men and slew him. When he was done, he leaned on him and called for his midday meal.

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130. Text: *bn*; read: *ʿan*. Muḥammad b. Abī ʿUthmān is unknown except in this *isnād*, whereas Muḥammad — Abū ʿUthmān is frequent. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXI.

131. Al-Juhanī, apparently found only in reports derived from Sayf. See Donner, *Conquests*, 373, 385, 403. His mention in Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 164, probably also derives from Sayf.

132. Of the ʿAbdallāh b. Sayyār b. Asʿad branch of the ʿIjl. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 501.

Among those taken from the Bakr b. Wā'il he captured a son of Jābir b. Bujayr[133] and a son of ʿAbd al-Aswad.[134]

About Ullays, Which Is on the Euphrates Itself

Abū Jaʿfar — ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah[135] — Abū ʿUthmān, and Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam — al-Mughīrah b. ʿUtaybah; and al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh — Abū ʿUthmān and Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam — al-Mughīrah b. [2032] ʿUtaybah: When on the Day of al-Walajah Khālid had taken captive certain of the Christians of the Bakr b. Wā'il who had helped the Persians, the [other] Christians among their people became enraged on their account. Therefore they corresponded with the Persians, and the Persians wrote back to them. Subsequently, they gathered at Ullays under the command of ʿAbd al-Aswad al-ʿIjlī. The fiercest people against those Christians were the Muslims of the Banū ʿIjl: ʿUtaybah b. al-Nahhās,[136] Saʿīd b. Murrah, Furāt b. Ḥayyān,[137] al-Muthannā b. Lāḥiq,[138] and Madhʿūr b. ʿAdī.

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133. Al-ʿIjlī. He founded an important political lineage, as his grandson Ḥajjāj b. Abjar was active in al-Kūfah from c. 35–72/656–91. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 159; II, 250, 291.

134. ʿAbd al-Aswad b. Ḥanẓalah b. Sayyār al-ʿIjlī, a chief of the ʿIjl. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 157, II, 122.

135. Unknown except in this *isnād*. Probably a mistake for Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, whom Sayf often uses to transmit from Abū ʿUthmān, caused in this text by the proximity of Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam in this same *isnād*.

136. He is apparently the father of al-Mughīrah b. ʿUtaybah b. al-Nahhās, the judge of al-Kūfah often cited by Sayf. Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 346, calls him the most noble ʿIjlī in al-Kūfah. Ibn al-Kalbī confirms his participation in the conquest of Persia. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 157; II, 577 (under ʿUtaiba b. ʿAbdal); Donner, *Conquests*, 383.

137. A *ḥalīf* of the Sahm clan of the Quraysh, he is reported to have been the guide for a Qurashī caravan to Iraq led by Abū Sufyān. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 50; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 346, has a caravan to Syria, which would seem less probable, owing to the lack of connection of the ʿIjl with that land. He is said to have become a Muslim at the Battle of al-Khandaq in 5/627, when he was captured as a Meccan spy. The Prophet Muḥammad is said to have given him an estate in al-Yamāmah. Later he moved to al-Kūfah, where his descendants continued to live. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 157, II, 247; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 40; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 201; Donner, *Conquests*, 203, 383.

138. He is referred to by Ṭabarī only here. However, Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 485, notes that he was the harshest of men against the Christians of the Bakr b. Wā'il in Khālid's campaign in Iraq, a motif that he attributes to Ṭabarī but that does not appear here.

Ardashīr wrote to Bahman Jādhūyah, who was at Qusyāthā.[139] Bahman was the spokesman (*rāfid*) of Persia on one day out of their month. They divided their months so that each month consisted of thirty days. On each day the Persians had a [different] spokesman, who was appointed to speak for them before the king. Their spokesman was Bahman on the second day of the month.[140] [Ardashīr wrote to Bahman,] "Go until you come to Ullays with your army and those of the Persians and Arab Christians who have joined you." Bahman Jādhūyah sent Jābān ahead, urging speed on him. But he also said, "Hold yourself and your troops back from fighting the enemy until I catch up with you, unless they attack you first." Thus Jābān went off toward Ullays, while Bahman Jādhūyah went to Ardashīr to see him in person and consult with him about what he wanted to command. When he found him sick he stayed over, leaving Jābān alone on that front. Jābān advanced until he came to Ullays, making camp there in Ṣafar (17 April–15 May 633). Those garrisons that faced the Arabs came to him, as well as ʿAbd al-Aswad with the Arab Chris-
[2033] tians of the Banū ʿIjl, the Taym Allāt,[141] the Ḍubayʿah,[142] and the outlying Arabs from the people of al-Ḥīrah. Jābir b. Bujayr was a Christian who supported ʿAbd al-Aswad.

When Khālid had been informed of the concentration of ʿAbd al-Aswad, Jābir, Zuhayr,[143] and those who had rallied to them, he arose to face them. Khālid did not know of Jābān's approach, so that he was not concerned except about the Arabs and Christians of the area (*ḍāḥiyah*) who had gathered against him. Thus he advanced. When he appeared to Jābān at Ullays the Persians said to Jābān, "Shall we hasten against them, or shall we feed the men the midday meal in order to show them that we are not concerned about them, then attack them after finishing?" Jābān replied, "If they have left you

139. A place on the left bank of the Euphrates near al-Ḥīrah, identical to Quss al-Nāṭif and Bāqusyāthā, mentioned elsewhere in al-Ṭabarī. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 306.

140. Translated according to the note in the Leiden edition.

141. A tribe of the Bakr b. Wāʾil. See *EI*[1], s.v. Taimallāh; see also Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, I, 190–91, for the variety of genealogies offered for the Bakrī Taym.

142. A tribe of the Bakr b. Wāʾil later prominent in al-Baṣrah. It would seem from the existence of a separate Ḍubayʿah b. Rabīʿah that the Ḍubayʿah were originally independent of the Bakr but later joined them. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 292–93, 319–21; Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, II, 70.

143. Unidentified.

alone, making light of you, then make light, but I think they will hasten against you and quickly divert your attention from the food." But his men disobeyed him, for they spread out carpets, put out the food, and invited each other to eat, so that they came to the meal in groups.

When Khālid reached them he halted, ordering the baggage to be set down. When it had been put down he went to face them. Khālid personally appointed certain troops to guard his rear. Then he came forward[144] in front of the line and called out, "Where is Abjar?[145] Where is 'Abd al-Aswad? Where is Mālik b. Qays?" (The last was a man from the Jidhrah).[146] These men all shrank back from him, except for Mālik, who came forth to fight in single combat. Khālid asked him, "O son of a filthy woman, what made you dare show yourself to me from among them, though there is no faithfulness in you?" Then he struck him and killed him.

Khālid thus turned the Persians away from their food before they had eaten. Jābān said, "Did I not tell you, O people? By God, I have never felt anxiety on account of any [enemy] chief until today." As [2034]
they were unable to eat, [the Persian troops], to display their toughness, said, "We will leave our food until we finish with them; then we will come back to it." Jābān replied, "Nevertheless, I think, by God, that you have only put it aside for them,[147] though you do not perceive. Therefore now obey me. Poison it, so that, if it is for you, it will be the easiest way to die, whereas, if it is against you, [at least] you will have done something to justify yourselves." They answered, "No!" [believing themselves] to have the strength to defeat the Muslims.

Jābān put 'Abd al-Aswad and Abjar in charge of his two wings. Khālid had kept to combat formation during the previous days. The two sides fought fiercely. The polytheists were increased in rabidity and ferocity because they expected Bahman Jādhūyah to come.

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144. Text: *nadar*; read: *badar*, as Ms. C. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, CXXIX, DCXI.

145. Perhaps Abjar b. Jābir b. Bujayr al-'Ijlī. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 159; II, 250, 291.

146. Text: Jadhrah; read: Jidhrah. This is the Jidhrah b. Dhuhl b. Shaybān, a Bakrī clan. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 142; II, 262. Mālik b. Qays seems not to be mentioned elsewhere.

147. That is, the Persians' Muslim enemy.

Therefore, they persevered against the Muslims to the extent that it was in God's knowledge that He would bring them to do so.

The Muslims raged against them. Khālid said, "O God, if You deliver their shoulders to us, I will obligate myself to You not to leave any one of them whom we can overcome until I make their canal run with their blood." Then God defeated them for the Muslims and gave their shoulders to them. Khālid then commanded his herald to proclaim to the men, "Capture! Capture! Do not kill any except he who continues to resist." As a result, the cavalry brought prisoners in droves, driving them along. Khālid had detailed certain men to cut off their heads in the canal. He did that to them for a day and a night. They pursued them the next day and the day after, until they reached al-Nahrayn[148] and the like of that distance in every direction from Ullays. And Khālid cut off their heads.

Al-Qaʿqāʿ and others like him said to Khālid, "Even if you were to kill all the population of the earth, their blood would still not run. Blood has not done more than glistened ever since it was forbidden
[2035] to flow and the earth was forbidden to dry blood. Therefore send water over it, so that you may fulfill your oath." Khālid had blocked the water from the canal. Now Khālid brought the water back, so that it flowed with spilled blood. Owing to this, it has been called Blood Canal to this day. Others, among them Bashīr b. al-Khaṣāṣiyyah,[149] said, "It has reached us that the earth, when it had dried the blood of Adam's son, was then forbidden to dry [spilled] blood, and blood was forbidden to flow except enough to congeal."

When the enemy had been defeated and driven from their camp and the Muslims had returned from pursuing them and entered that camp, Khālid stood over the food and said, "I give it to you as spoils; it is yours." He also said, "The Prophet of God, if he came upon prepared food, would offer it as spoils." Thus the Muslims sat down to eat it for their dinner at night. Those who had never seen [settled] countryside and did not know of flat bread (*ruqāq*) would say, "What are these white patches?" Those who knew it would answer them, saying jokingly, "Have you heard of 'soft living' (*raqīq al-ʿaysh*)?"

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148. A subdistrict on the lower Nahr Sūrā in Bihqubādh, east of the Euphrates. It disappears after the conquest. See Morony, *Iraq*, 149. But see note 234, below.

149. He is Zaḥm b. Maʿbad b. Sharāḥīl b. Sabʿ b. Ḍubārī al-Sadūsī. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 225; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 50; VII, 55; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 159.

The others would respond, "Yes." Then those who knew would say, "This is it; therefore it has been named *ruqāq*." The Arabs would call it *qirā*.[150]

ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—ʿAmr b. Muḥammad—al-Shaʿbī—an informant—Khālid: On the day of Khaybar, the Prophet of God gave the people as spoils bread, stew, roast meat, and whatever other than that they would put into their bellies without becoming sated.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Ṭalḥah—al-Mughīrah: On the river were mills that ran with water red [with blood] for three days, grinding grain for the troops, who were eighteen thousand or more. Khālid sent the news by a man called Jandal from the Banū ʿIjl. A tough [2036] guide, he brought to Abū Bakr the news of the conquest of Ullays, the amount of spoils, the number of captives, how the spoils (*akhmās*) had been divided, and who had done great deeds of valor. When he came to Abū Bakr and the latter, noticing his toughness and the solidity of the news he had brought, said, "What's your name?" the man said, "Jandal." Abū Bakr said, "How wonderful, Jandal!

The soul of ʿIṣām has made ʿIṣām black
and accustomed him to attack and daring."[151]

Abū Bakr then commanded that he be given a girl from among those captives, and she subsequently bore him a child.

The enemy's dead reached seventy thousand,[152] most of them from Amghīshiyā.[153]

Abū Jaʿfar—ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿd—his uncle: I asked about Amghīshiyā by al-Ḥīrah and was told [it is] Manīshiyā.[154] I then told Sayf, who said, "These are two [different] names."

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150. Meaning "hospitality" or "a meal served to a guest."

151. This line is from al-Nābighah al-Dhubyānī. See Leiden text, note c. The ʿIṣām referred to here is ʿIṣām b. Shahbar al-Jarmī, the chamberlain of al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir, the last Lakhmī king of al-Ḥīrah. See al-Nābighah al-Dhubyānī, *Dīwān*, 105–6; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, IX, 172; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 327; II, 359; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 544; Maydānī, *Amthāl*, II, 259–60.

152. This legendary fabrication of Sayf, representative of his anti-Iranian sentiment, is quoted by Morony, *Iraq*, 191.

153. A fortress at the junction of the Furāt Bādaqlā canal and the Ḥīrah branch of the Euphrates, hence near al-Ḥīrah, though its exact location is uncertain. Morony, *Iraq*, 152; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 293–94. Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAlī puts it near modern al-Ghamas and al-Shanafiyyah. Ṣ. al-ʿAlī, "Minṭaqat al-Kūfah."

154. Cairo ed. has "Manishiyā," possibly based on Ms. C.

The Affair of Amghīshiyā

[It was] in Ṣafar, and God gave the Muslims spoil without horses.

ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — Muḥammad — Abū ʿUthmān and Ṭalḥah — al-Mughīrah: When Khālid was done with the Battle of Ullays he decamped and came to Amghīshiyā. He had taken the defenders by surprise, so that they left their property and fled, scattering in al-Sawād. From that day there have been bonded laborers
[2037] (*sakarāt*)[155] in al-Sawād. Khālid commanded that Amghīshiyā be demolished, along with everything in it. It was a military center (*miṣr*) like al-Ḥīrah. The Furāt Bādaqlā ended in it. Ullays was one of its subordinate military posts. The victors took spoils in it the like of which they never obtained again.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Baḥr b. al-Furāt al-ʿIjlī[156] — his father:[157] The Muslims did not obtain as spoils between the battles of Dhāt al-Salāsil and Amghīshiyā anything like what they took at Amghīshiyā. The share of a horseman reached one thousand five hundred [dirhams], aside from the additional spoils allotted to those who had stood out.

All informants together: When news of that reached Abū Bakr, he said, reporting to them what had come to him, "O people of the Quraysh! Your lion has attacked the [enemy's] lion and overcome him, [taking away] the pieces of his prey. Women are incapable of ever giving birth[158] to the like of Khālid."

The Day of al-Maqr[159] and the Mouth of Furāt Bādaqlā[160]

Abū Jaʿfar — al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad — Abū ʿUthmān and Ṭalḥah — al-Mughīrah: Al-Āzādhbih had been the gover-

155. This word appears to be related to the more familiar Arabic root *s-kh-r*, itself taken perhaps from Aramaic in this meaning. A gloss in the Cairo ed. from Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, supports this explanation.

156. Unknown except for his mention here and in one more report shortly after this. His name, which means "Sea, the son of the Euphrates River," would seem another of Sayf's topical inventions, like Ḥarmalah b. Murayṭah (see note 59, above) and al-Rabīʿ b. Maṭar b. Thalj "Spring Herbage, the son of Rain, the son of Snow." See al-ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa miʾah ṣaḥābī*, 265–68.

157. Perhaps suggested by the name of al-Furāt b. Ḥayyān al-ʿIjlī, who chronologically could not have had a son who transmitted to Sayf.

158. Text: *yunshiʾū*; read: *yansulna*, as in Kos. and Cairo ed.

159. Apparently an unidentified place.

160. A canal flowing out of the Euphrates, perhaps near the present Abū Ṣukhayr

nor (*marzubān*) of al-Ḥīrah from the times of Kisrā up to that day. They[161] used not to support each other except by permission of the king. Al-Āzādhbih had reached [the rank of] "half noble," and the value of his tall cap[162] was fifty thousand [dirhams]. When Khālid had destroyed Amghīshiyā and its people had become bonded laborers (*sakarāt*) to the landlords (*dahāqīn*) of the villages, al-Āzādhbih realized that he would not be left alone. Therefore he began to consider his situation and prepare for war with Khālid. He first sent forth his son and set out himself after him, until he encamped outside al-Ḥīrah. [2038] He commanded his son to dam the Euphrates. After he had departed from Amghīshiyā, carrying the infantry in boats along with the spoils and baggage, Khālid was surprised to find his boats running aground. This greatly alarmed his men. The boatmen said, "The Persians have broken the dams of the canals, causing the water to flow in other than its accustomed course. The water will not come to us unless we dam the canals up again." Khālid then hurried with his cavalry toward the son of al-Āzādhbih. When some of Khālid's horse encountered the son of al-Āzādhbih by Fam al-ʿAtīq,[163] they surprised the Iranians just at the moment that the latter thought themselves safe from Khālid's attacking them. Khālid laid them low in their battles.[164] After this he immediately departed. But the news had reached al-Āzādhbih, whom Khālid encountered along with his troops at the mouth of Furāt Bādaqlā. When they fought each other Khālid laid the Persians low, broke the dikes of the Euphrates, and blocked up the entrances to the canals, so that the water returned to its natural course.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad—Abū ʿUthmān and Ṭalḥah—al-Mughīrah and Baḥr—his father; and ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—Muḥammad—Abū ʿUthmān and Ṭalḥah—al-Mughīrah: When Khālid had defeated the son of al-Āzādhbih at the mouth

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south of al-Ḥīrah, then running parallel to the river until it reentered it at an unknown distance downstream. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 293–95.

161. Apparently, the governors.

162. Ar. *qalansuwwah*. This would appear to be the type of headgear worn by Persian and Mesopotamian officials and nobles since early antiquity. It also is parallel to, if not the same as, the high crowns of the kings shown on Sāsānian coins. See Morony, *Iraq*, 186–88; *EI²*, s.v. Libās.

163. According to Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 295, this was at the modern Abū Ṣukhayr, in the gardens of Jaʿārah, on the Euphrates southeast of al-Ḥīrah. The various canals originated from here, so that Fam al-ʿAtīq actually was the starting point of the ʿAtīq canal from the Euphrates.

164. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXI.

of Furāt Bādaqlā, he headed for al-Ḥīrah, commanding his companions to follow him and going on until he encamped between al-Khawarnaq[165] and al-Najaf.[166] Khālid reached al-Khawarnaq when al-Āzādhbih had already crossed the Euphrates, fleeing without a fight. He was impelled to flight only by the news that reached him about the death of Ardashīr, as well as the defeat of his own son. Al-Āzādhbih's camp was between al-Ghariyyayn[167] and al-Qaṣr al-Abyaḍ.[168] When Khālid's forces had completely gathered to him at al-Khawarnaq, he went forth from the camp [there] in order to camp at the site of al-Āzādhbih's camp between al-Ghariyyayn and al-
[2039] Qaṣr al-Abyaḍ.

Meanwhile the people of al-Ḥīrah had taken to their fortifications for defense. Khālid sent horsemen from his camp into al-Ḥīrah, putting a man from among his commanders in charge of each fort, that he might besiege its defenders and engage them in battle. Thus, Ḍirār b. al-Azwar[169] laid siege to al-Qaṣr al-Abyaḍ, in which was Iyās b. Qabīṣah al-Ṭā'ī. Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb[170] besieged Qaṣr al-ʿAdasiyyīn, in which was ʿAdī b. ʿAdī,[171] who was killed. Ḍirār b. Muqar-

165. A place about 17 km. southeast of al-Najaf containing a Sāsānian palace. See *EI*², s.v. al-Khawarnaḳ; Le Strange, *Lands*, 75–76; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 104–6, esp. n. 59.

166. A place in Iraq 10 km. west of al-Kūfah. Although later a famous city owing to its possession of the shrine of ʿAlī, at this time it was probably of no importance, if it existed at all. See *EI*¹, s.v. al-Nadjaf; Le Strange, *Lands*, 76–78.

167. Lit. "the two ruined towers." These were located in the suburbs of al-Kūfah and gave their name to their locale. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 196–200.

168. One of the forts of al-Ḥīrah. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 287–88, 295.

169. Al-Asadī. A Companion of the Prophet, he is variously said to have died at al-Yamāmah in 11/632, Ajnādayn in 13/634, or Ḥarrān later and to have participated at al-Yarmūk in 15/636 and the conquest of Damascus. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ğamharat*, I, 55; II, 242; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 292; VI, 39; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 117, 300, 317; Yaʿqūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 86, Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 208–9; Donner, *Conquests*, 359, 367, 369, 388.

170. Al-Fihrī, he was a poet, fought for the Meccans at Uḥud and became a Muslim on the conquest of Mecca in 8/630. He was said to have been killed in the Battle of al-Yamāmah in 11/632, although Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 94, does not list him among the dead there. He seems to have been mentioned on the Iraqi front only by Sayf, though others said he went to Syria and died there. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ğamharat*, I, 34; II, 242; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 407; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 448; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 40–41, 136, 254–55, 297, 319, 328–30, 334; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, VII, 28–29; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 209–10; Donner, *Conquests*, 372, 401, 405.

171. This character, along with Zayd b. ʿAdī and the latter's father, ʿAdī al-Awsaṭ, appears to be mentioned only by Sayf. Probably ʿAdī b. ʿAdī is meant to be the brother of Zayd, owing to their collocation in the tradition. See below p. 30. As ʿAdī al-Awsaṭ, their father, is said to have been slain at Dhū Qār, he cannot be the same as the famous

rin al-Muzanī,[172] who was the tenth of ten brothers, besieged Qaṣr Banī Māzin, where Ibn Akkāl[173] was, while al-Muthannā laid siege to Qaṣr Ibn Buqaylah, inside of which was ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ.[174] The Muslims invited all of them [to terms], giving them a day's grace, but the people of al-Ḥīrah refused obstinately, so that the Muslims skirmished with them.

ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿd—his uncle—Sayf—al-Ghuṣn b. al-Qāsim[175] —a man from the Banū Kinānah[176] (Abū Jaʿfar said that ʿUbaydallāh's version was thus), and [also] al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Ghuṣn b. al-Qāsim—a man from the Banū Kinānah: Khālid had enjoined his commanders to begin by calling on [the enemy to surrender]. If they accepted, they accepted, but if they refused, the commanders should give them a day's respite [before attacking]. Khālid also said, "Do not give your enemy access to your ears, thus lying in wait for you to meet with disaster, but rather fight them, and do not turn the Muslims away from the struggle with their enemy."

The first of the commanders to start the battle after the day when the enemy had been given a respite was Ḍirār b. al-Azwar, who was in charge of fighting the people of al-Qaṣr al-Abyaḍ. They arose in the morning to find themselves besieged. Ḍirār called on them [to choose] one of three things: Islam, payment of *jizyah*, or resistance. They chose resistance, shouting to each other, "Use ceramic rollers [2040]
(*al-khazāzīf*)!" Thereupon Ḍirār said, "Stand back so that what they throw will not reach you, until we see what they are shouting about." Immediately the top of the fortress was filled with men

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Ḥīran poet ʿAdī b. Zayd al-Marʾī, who also had a son named Zayd but was killed by al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir c. 600 C.E., long before Dhū Qār. It is not impossible that it was the poet and his son who suggested the names for this later alleged family, especially given the propensity for Sayf's traditions to show famous throwbacks to the Jāhiliyyah as embellishments. On ʿAdī b. Zayd al-Marʾī and his son, see Ṭabarī, I, 1016–29; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, II, 18–43; *EI*², s.v. ʿAdī b. Zayd.

172. Mentioned only by Sayf, who often seems to create brothers of more famous persons. See Donner, *Conquests*, 372. Only six brothers are listed by Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 18–19.

173. Unidentified, but he appears below (p. 35) as Ḥīrī b. Akkāl. The first name, identifying him as a Ḥīran, seems merely a means of filling in the absence of a real first name for him in the tradition.

174. Probably the same as ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. ʿAmr b. Buqaylah. See p. 6 and note 45, above.

175. Al-Kinānī. Only mentioned in Sayf's *isnāds*.

176. An important branch of the Muḍar concentrated in the Ḥijāz. See *EI*², s.v. Kināna.

[wearing] suspended bags, [from which] they pelted the Muslims with *khazāzīf*, which are ceramic rollers (*madāḥī*).[177] Ḍirār then said, "Bombard them!" At this, the Muslims drew near them, raining arrows upon them and thus clearing the tops of the walls.

Then the Muslims launched their attack against those [outside] who belonged to the people in the fortresses. The commander of each group of troops greeted his men with the like of that in the morning, so that they conquered the [enemy's] houses and monasteries (*dayrāt*) and slew many [of them]. The priests and monks therefore called out, "O people of the fortresses, it is only you who are killing us!" At this, the people of the fortresses shouted, "O Arabs, we now accept one of the three [choices]. Therefore, renew your [peaceful] summons to us and hold back from attacking us until you inform Khālid."

At this Iyās b. Qabīṣah and his brother went forth to Ḍirār b. al-Azwar, while ʿAdī b. ʿAdī and Zayd b. ʿAdī went out to Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb. ʿAdī al-Awsaṭ[178] was the one whose mother had sung his eulogy and who had been killed on the Day of Dhū Qār.[179] ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ and Ibn Akkāl went forth, the first to Ḍirār b. Muqarrin, the other to al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah. The commanders sent them to Khālid but kept their positions.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad — Abū ʿUthmān, and Ṭalḥah—al-Mughīrah: The first one who sought peace was ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. Qays b. Ḥayyān b. al-Ḥārith, who is Buqaylah. He was named Buqaylah only because he had come out to his people
[2041] wearing two green cloaks, so that they said, "O *ḥāri*,[180] you are noth-

177. The exact form and purpose of these is obscure, but they were probably cylindrical household implements of some kind. See al-Fayrūzābādī, *Muḥīt*, s.v. *m-d-y*, *kh-z-f*.

178. The father of ʿAdī b. ʿAdī and Zayd b. ʿAdī. See note 171, above.

179. A waterhole belonging to the Bakr b. Wāʾil, where occurred the famous battle in which the Arabs of the Bakr tribes crushingly defeated the Persians, thus prefiguring the later Islamic conquests. It took place sometime between 604 and 611 C.E. See *EI*², s.v. Dhū Ḳār; Ṭabarī, I, 1015–37; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 482–90. It was located between al-Kūfah and Wāsiṭ, nearer to the former west of the Euphrates. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 293–94. Musil, *Northern Neğd*, 169 n. 95, 236, and *Arabia Deserta*, 503, identifies it with the present Abū Ghār, which in *Middle Euphrates*, 102, 106, he locates near al-Ḥīrah.

180. Thus the Leiden text. This word caused earlier writers considerable difficulty. If it is interpreted as the vocative of the participle of *ḥarā, yaḥrī*, it could mean "decreasing." Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 485 n. 3, suggests that it be read Ḥārith, Buqaylah's name.

ing but a little green herb (*buqaylah*)!" and that name stuck. ʿAmr sent them, the chiefs, to Khālid, each accompanied by a confidant, in order that he might make peace with the people of each fortress through the mediation of its commander.

Khālid met the party of each fortress among them separately, without the others. He began with the companions of ʿAdī, saying, "Woe to you! You are not Arabs! Why do you seek vengeance from the Arabs or the Iranians? Why do you seek vengeance from fairness and justice?" ʿAdī answered him, "Indeed we are pure Arabs, and others arabicized."[181] Khālid continued, "If you were as you say, you would not have opposed us and detested our business." ʿAdī told him, "That we have no tongue but Arabic most certainly proves what we say." Khālid said, "You have said the truth." Then he continued: "Choose one of three things. You may enter our religion, in which case you will enjoy what we enjoy, and you will bear the obligations we bear, whether you arise and migrate [with us] or stay in your dwellings. Otherwise, there is payment of the *jizyah*, or else resistance and fighting. By God, I have brought you a people who are more covetous of death than you are of life." ʿAdī replied, "Rather, we will give you the *jizyah*." At this Khālid said, "May you perish! Woe to you! Disbelief is a desert that makes one lose his way. It is the foolish [one] among the Arabs who follows it."

At this point, two guides met Khālid, one of them an Arab. Khālid left aside the Arab and employed the Iranian instead.[182]

The people of al-Ḥīrah then made peace with him for 190,000 [dirhams],[183] and they kept that [agreement]. They also gave him gifts. He sent [the news of] the conquest and the presents to Abū Bakr

181. Here the pure Arabs are *ʿArab ʿāribah*, whereas the arabicized are *mutaʿarribah*. This twofold division was basic to the early Arab Muslim genealogical scheme. According to the version favored by the Yemen tribes, the Arabs descended from Qaḥṭān were *al-ʿāribah*, the pure, original Arabs, and those descended from ʿAdnān, who in turn was distantly descended from Abraham's son Ishmael, were only arabicized Arabs, called *al-mustaʿribah*. See Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Qaṣd wa amam*, 12–14; *Inbāh*, 57–58. However, another version, less favorable to the Yemen, stated that *al-ʿāribah* had become entirely extinct long before, so that all present Arabs were only *mustaʿribah*. See Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Qaṣd wa amam*, 11–12; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 8–9. Here, however, Sayf's intention seems to be to show that the Christian natives of al-Ḥīrah, although they spoke Arabic, were the result of a more recent mixing of Arab and non-Arab elements and thus unlike the pure Arabs coming from the desert.

182. The purpose of these guides is obscure.

183. See p. 6, and note 49, above.

with al-Hudhayl al-Kāhilī. Abū Bakr accepted them as a part of the *jizyah* payment, writing to Khālid, "Reckon their gifts for them as a
[204] part of the *jizyah*, unless they are [already] part of the *jizyah*. Take the rest of what is due and strengthen your troops with it."

Ibn Buqaylah said:

Do I see, after the Mundhirs,[184] freely grazing livestock
herded at al-Khawarnaq and al-Sadīr?[185]
And after the horsemen of al-Nuʿmān, do I graze
a young camel[186] between Murrah[187] and al-Ḥufayr?
We have become after the death of Abū Qabūs[188]
like a herd of sheep[189] on a rainy day.
The tribes from Maʿadd divide[190] us up
openly like the shares of a slaughtered beast.
We used to be [such] that no sacred thing of ours would be coveted,
so that we were like an excellent, milk-giving udder.[191]
We give what is due after the tax (*kharāj*) of Kisrā
and the payment of the Banū[192] Qurayẓah and al-Naḍīr.[193]

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184. The former Lakhmid kings of al-Ḥīrah, who had possessed the greatest of the Arab kingdoms before their sudden downfall in 602 C.E. See EI^2, s.v. Lakhmids.

185. Two Sāsānian-period palaces at al-Ḥīrah. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 75–76. On al-Sadīr, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 201–2, where the first four lines of this poem are quoted.

186. Or "gardens." See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXI.

187. Unidentified place.

188. Text: Qubays; read: Qabūs, as Kos. This is a shortening of Qābūs by poetic license. Abū Qābūs is al-Nuʿmān III b. al-Mundhir IV (d. 602 C.E.), the last king of al-Ḥīrah.

189. Or "like the mange of goats." See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, CLXI–CLXII, DCXI.

190. Or "have divided." See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXI.

191. Ar. *ka-ḍarrat al-ḍarʿ al-fakhūri*. The meaning does not seem entirely satisfactory, but the words *ḍarrah* and *ḍarʿ* are connected by Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. *ḍ-r-r*, and Fayrūzābādī, *Muḥīṭ*, s.v. *ḍ-r-r*, where both terms give the sense of udder. In this line of poetry the implication appears to be that, when the Ḥīrans were strong, no one could dare even to covet their possessions, let alone attack them, while at the same time they were inexhaustibly generous.

192. Text: *min*; read: *Banī*, with Yaʿqūbī and M. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXI.

193. Two of the Jewish tribes of Medina who contended with the Prophet. See EI^2, s.v. Ḳurayẓa; EI^1, s.v. Naḍīr (Banu'l).

Such is time: its turning [brings] ups and downs,
a day of misfortune or joy.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Ghuṣn b. al-Qāsim — a man from the Banū Kinānah; and Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq[194] with the like of it from him: They would come to Khālid, entrusting ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ [2043] with their needs. Khālid asked, "How old are you?" ʿAmr answered, "Hundreds of years." Khālid continued, "What is the strangest thing you have seen?" ʿAmr replied, "I saw the towns connected in a line between Damascus and al-Ḥīrah, so that a woman could go forth from al-Ḥīrah with no provisions except a loaf of bread." Khālid smiled and said, "Do you have anything from your old age except its effect?[195] You are senile, by God, O ʿAmr!"

Then Khālid came to the people of al-Ḥīrah and said: "Has it not reached me that you are wicked, deceitful plotters? Why do you obtain your needs through a senile man who does not know whence he has come?" ʿAmr ignored him but wished to show him from himself that by which he could know his mind and prove the soundness of what he had told him. He therefore said, "By your right, O amīr, I most certainly know whence I came." Khālid asked, "Then where did you come from?" ʿAmr asked, "More recently or earlier?" Khālid said, "Whatever you want." ʿAmr said, "From my mother's womb." Khālid then asked, "Where are you going?" ʿAmr said, "Ahead of me." Khālid said, "What is that?" ʿAmr said, "The afterlife." Khālid asked, "From where is your farthest step?" ʿAmr said, "From my father's loins." Khālid asked, "What are you in? ʿAmr replied, "In my clothes." Khālid asked, "Do you comprehend?" ʿAmr answered, "Yes, by God, and I register, too."[196]

Thus Khālid found him, when he had tested him, to be a sage. The people of his town were more knowing about him: Khālid said, "A land has killed its ignorant one, but its knowing one has killed a land. The people know best what is among them." ʿAmr said, "O

194. Abū Isrāʾīl Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq ʿAmr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Hamdānī al-Sabīʿī, he was an important Kūfan traditionist of mixed reputation who died in the period 152–59/769–76. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 228; II, 597; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 363; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 433–34.

195. Text: *ʿuqlatun*; read: *ʿamaluhu*, as in Cairo ed.

196. See p. 6, above.

amīr, the ant knows better than the camel what is in its own house."

Muḥammad[197] — Abū al-Safar[198] — Dhū al-Jawshan al-Ḍibābī:[199] [These] agree with this report from this place.

[2044] Al-Zuhrī:[200] A man from al-Ḍibāb agrees with them about this report.

All these: With Ibn Buqaylah was a servant who had a pouch tied around his loins. Khālid took the pouch and poured its contents into his palm. He inquired, "What is this, O ʿAmr?" ʿAmr answered, "This, by the faith of God, is poison of an hour." Khālid asked, "Why do you fill your pouch with poison?" ʿAmr replied, "I am afraid that you might follow other than what I prefer. I have reached my term of life, and death is dearer to me than any evil thing that I might bring upon my people and my town." After saying, "No one dies until he comes to his allotted time," Khālid declared, "In the name of God, the best of names, the Lord of the earth and the Lord of the heaven, by Whose name no sickness harms, the All-Compassionate, the Merciful!" At this, those present reached for him to stop him from [taking] it, but he was too swift for them and swallowed it. Then ʿAmr said to them, "By God, O Arabs, you will possess whatever you want as long as there is one of you, O generation!" When he came to the people of al-Ḥīrah, he said, "I have not seen anything clearer in good fortune than today."

Khālid refused to write any agreement for them except on condition of the handing over of Karāmah bt. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ to Shuwayl [as a hostage]. That was hard for the Ḥīrans to bear, but she said, "Make it easy for yourselves and hand me over, for I will ransom myself." Thus they did, and Khālid wrote the agreement between him and them, [as follows:]

> In the name of God, the All-Compassionate, the Merciful. This is the covenant that Khālid b. al-Walīd has made

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197. Probably this is Sayf's informant Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh again.

198. Saʿīd b. Yaḥmad al-Hamdānī al-Thawrī; he was a Kūfan traditionist regarded as reliable. He died in 112–13/730–31. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 299; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 96–97.

199. Abū Shamir al-Kilābī, whose son Shamir was one of the killers of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. Dhū al-Jawshan transmitted one tradition from the Prophet. See Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 297; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 222–23, *Iṣābah*, I, 485. The last source shows considerable doubt about his actual identity.

200. The same as the al-Zuhrī on p. 1, above; see also note 4.

> for ʿAdī and ʿAmr,[201] the two sons of ʿAdī, ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, Iyās b. Qabīṣah, and Ḥīrī b. Akkāl. (ʿUbaydallāh said [the name of the last was] Jabrī. These men were the leaders (*nuqabāʾ*) of the people of al-Ḥīrah, who accepted their role and enjoined it on them.) Khālid has given them a covenant in return for one hundred ninety thousand dirhams payable annually, for the *jizyah* of those working in this world, [including] their monks and priests, except for those among them who have no work, cut off from worldly life, abandon- [2045] ing it (ʿUbaydallāh reported here, "Except for those having no work, cut off from worldly life, abandoning it.") or[202] [those who are] traveling, abandoning the worldly life. Khālid promises that he will protect them. If he does not protect them, then they have no obligations until he does protect them. If they commit betrayal in deed or in word, then the [Muslims'] conscience is free of [any obligation to] them.

This was written in the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal of the year 12 (16 May–14 June 633), and the document was given to the people of al-Ḥīrah.

When the people of al-Sawād rebelled after the death of Abū Bakr they made light of the agreement and caused it to be lost, rebelling among those who had rebelled. The Persians dominated them. When al-Muthannā conquered them for the second time they offered [to accept] the same terms [again]; however, al-Muthannā did not respond favorably, but answered them with an additional condition. When al-Muthannā was driven back from the land, they rebelled [again] among those who rebelled and assisted [the revolt], making light of the agreement and causing it to be lost. When Saʿd[203] conquered the land and they [once again] offered the same agreement, he asked them [to accept] one of two conditions, but they did not re-

201. Previously, on p. 30, above, Zayd b. ʿAdī had been mentioned. Perhaps ʿAmr here is a confusion with the name of ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ.

202. Text: *wa*; read: *aw*, as Kos. and Cairo ed.

203. That is Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ Mālik al-Zuhrī, the victor of al-Qādisiyyah and the conqueror of central Iraq, who also founded the city of al-Kūfah. He was governor of al-Kūfah from its foundation to 20/641 and again in 25/646. He died at al-ʿAqīq near Medina in 50/670 or 55/675. See *EI²*, s.v. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 20; II, 495; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 137–49; VI, 12–13.

spond to either. He therefore imposed [conditions] on them, investigating what he deemed that they could bear [paying]. He imposed on them [a tax of] four hundred thousand [dirhams], aside from the choice spoils (*ḥarazah*).[204] (ʿUbaydallāh reported, "Other than *al-kharazah.*")[205]

ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf and al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ghuṣn b. al-Qāsim al-Kinānī—a man from the Banū Kinānah; and Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq: Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh[206] was among those who had gone out to Syria with Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣī.[207] Jarīr asked Khālid leave [to go] to Abū Bakr in order to speak to him about his people, to collect them to him, for they were scattered among the Arabs, and to deliver them. Khālid b. Saʿīd gave him permission. On coming to Abū Bakr, Jarīr mentioned to him a promise from the Prophet. He brought forth witnesses to that promise and requested that the ca-
[2046] liph effect it. But Abū Bakr became angry and said to Jarīr, "You see our work and what we are doing to help the Muslims against those two lions who are before them, the Persians and the Romans. Then you force me to pay attention to what will not avail me in place of what I am content with for [the sake of] God and His Prophet. Leave me and go to join Khālid b. al-Walīd so that I may see what God decrees on these two fronts." At this, Jarīr went forth until he came to Khālid when the latter was at al-Ḥīrah. Thus Jarīr did not participate in anything that occurred in Iraq, except for what happened after [the conquest of] al-Ḥīrah, nor was he present at any of Khālid's battles with the apostates (*ahl al-riddah*).

Regarding the battles of al-Ḥīrah, al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr said:

God has provided slain victims by the Euphrates abiding
and others in the midst of the enclosing sand hills.

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204. As is apparent from pp. 40 and 184, below, this refers to the property abandoned by either members of the defunct Sāsānian dynasty or those nobles who had fled with them.

205. This term, meaning "gem" in the singular, appears to fit the context less well.

206. Al-Bajalī; he was famous not only for his participation in the early conquests and the founding of al-Kūfah but also for his role on ʿAlī's side in the First Civil War. He is said to have died at Qarqīsiyāʾ in 51/671. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 222, II, 258; Donner, *Conquests*, 68, 175, 178, 196–98, 200–2, 216, 242–43, 260, 369, 381–82, 387, 407, 409, 432, 438; Crone, *Slaves*, 114.

207. Al-Umawī al-Qurashī, d. 13 (635). An early Muslim, he appears to have been somewhat headstrong and to have disagreed with both Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. See *EI*², s.v. Khālid b. Saʿīd; Donner, *Conquests*, 87, 113–14, 116–17, 135, 358, 360, 365–67.

And we trampled Hurmuz at al-Kawāẓim,
and at al-Thiny [we trampled] the two horns of Qārin by the running torrents.
And on the day when we surrounded the castles, there followed directly
for spacious al-Ḥīrah one of the turns of time.
We brought them down from their castles when their throne had almost [2047]
begun to topple through the act of the transgressing coward.
We bombarded them with kindness after they had seen
the evening draught of deaths around those extremities,
On the morning on which they said, "We are a people who went down
to the countryside from the land of the Arabs of firm counsel."[208]

What Happened after al-Ḥīrah

ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿd al-Zuhrī—his uncle—Sayf—Jamīl al-Ṭāʾī[209]—his father:[210] When Shuwayl was given Karāmah bt. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, I said to ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, "Are you not astonished by Shuwayl's asking for Karāmah bt. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ in spite of his low status (*ḍaʿf*)?" He responded, "He has always praised her immoderately." Shuwayl said, "That occurred because when I heard the Prophet of God naming those towns that would be given to him, he included al-Ḥīrah among those which would be given, as if the terraces of its fortresses were the molars of dogs. I knew [from this] that he had been shown it and that it would be conquered. Thereupon I brought up the matter of the request with him."[211]

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208. That is, they claimed to be nomadic Arabs who had become sedentarized.

209. Jamīl b. Zayd. As a traditionist, he was considered weak, though some important people like Sufyān al-Thawrī transmitted from him. Although he is said to have been either a Kūfan or a Baṣran, his associations seem to have been mainly with al-Kūfah, and Sayf's claim to have transmitted from him only confirms this. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 114.

210. Unknown. Ibn Ḥajar's article on Jamīl does not mention any transmission from his father. It would appear that Sayf has tacked "his father" on to the end of an *isnād*, as he may have done in many other cases as well.

211. This report appears to mean that Shuwayl heard the Prophet listing the towns that would be conquered, information that he was given by God. Knowing that Karā-

[2048] ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—ʿAmr and Mujālid—al-Shaʿbī; and al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Mujālid—al-Shaʿbī: When Shuwayl came to Khālid, he said "I heard the Prophet of God mentioning the conquest of al-Ḥīrah, so I asked him for Karāmah. He answered, 'She is yours if it is taken by force.'" His claim was attested to [by witnesses]. According to that, Khālid made peace with the Ḥīrans provided they delivered[212] Karāmah to him. But it was hard for her family and town to bear what had befallen her, and they considered the danger great. But Karāmah said, "Do not risk [resistance], but rather be patient. What do you fear for a woman who has reached eighty years of age? This is only a foolish man; he saw me when I was in my youth and supposed that [my] youthfulness would last."

Therefore they turned her over to Khālid, and Khālid gave her to Shuwayl. She said, "What do you need from an old woman such as you see? Ransom me." Shuwayl replied, "No, only by my own judgment." She said, "You may decide freely." He said, "I would not belong to Umm Shuwayl if I lowered your [price] below one thousand dirhams." Karāmah [pretended to] consider that too much in order to deceive him, but then she brought it to him. Thus she returned to her family. When the people heard about that, they rebuked him, so that he declared, "I did not think that any number was greater than a thousand." But they insisted that he quarrel with them, so that he said, "My intention was [to demand] the largest amount possible. They have stated that there are numbers greater than a thousand." Khālid said, "You wanted something, but God wanted something else. We will go by what is visible and will leave you with your intention, whether you be lying or telling the truth."

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAmr—al-Shaʿbī: When Khālid conquered al-Ḥīrah, he prayed the prayer of victory, [which is] eight prostrations (*rakaʿāt*) without any interruption in them.[213] Then he went away, saying "When I fought on the Day of Muʾtah,[214] nine

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mah was in al-Ḥīrah and that al-Ḥīrah was in the list, he requested that he be given her as part of his booty when the town was captured. Shuwayl does not appear in the *Sīrah* or in Ibn Ḥajar's *Iṣābah*. See the next report.

212. Text: *fa dafaʿahā*; read: *bi-dafʿihā*, as Kos.

213. Normally, *ṣalāh* is broken after at most every four *rakaʿāt*, when the leader of the worship says *salām* to his right and left.

214. The famous Muslim long-distance raid of the year 8/629 into modern Jordan east of the Dead Sea, in which Khālid b. al-Walīd is said to have saved the Muslim army. However, there is some doubt about the actual nature of this raid, as the sources

swords were broken in my hand, but never did I encounter a people like those I met from among the Persians. And I never met among the Persians a people like those of Ullays."

ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — ʿAmr and al-Mujālid — al-Shaʿbī: Khālid performed the prayer of victory and then went away. After this, he reported the like of al-Sarī's version. [2049]

ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf; and al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Ismāʿīl b. Abī Khālid[215] — Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim,[216] who came with Jarīr to Khālid: We came to Khālid at al-Ḥīrah when he was wearing his sword, which pulled his robe tight around his neck. He was offering worship in it alone. Then he went away, saying, "Nine swords were broken in my hand on the Day of Muʾtah. Then a broad-bladed Yamanī sword lasted in my hand, and it has not ceased to be with me."

ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh—Abū ʿUthmān, Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam—al-Mughīrah b. ʿUtaybah, al-Ghuṣn b. al-Qāsim—a man from the Banū Kinānah, and Sufyān al-Aḥmarī —Māhān:[217] When the people of al-Ḥīrah had made peace with Khālid, Ṣalūbā b. Nasṭūnā,[218] the ruler of Quss al-Nāṭif[219] went forth

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report very few martyrs by name, other than the three top commanders. See Watt, *Medina*, 53–55; *EI*[1], s.v. Muʾta.

215. A *mawlā* of the Aḥmas of the Bajīlah and a miller by trade, he was a very famous Kūfan traditionist, who was regarded as reliable by such *muḥaddithūn* as Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and al-Bukhārī, owing to his transmissions from al-Shaʿbī. He transmitted particularly plentifully from Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim, who is mentioned in this *isnād*. He is said to have transmitted between three hundred and five hundred *ḥadīths*. He died in 145–46/762–63. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 344; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 651; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 291–92.

216. Abū ʿAbdallāh Qays b. Ḥuṣayn b. ʿAwf b. ʿAbd al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwf al-Bajalī al-Aḥmasī, a Kūfan traditionist who nevertheless transmitted traditions from many Companions of the Prophet who never left Medina. He is said to have been on his way to render allegiance to the Prophet when the latter died. He is also claimed to have preferred ʿUthmān and to have attacked ʿAlī, wherefore many of the early Kūfan transmitters avoided quoting from him. In spite of this, he generally enjoyed a high reputation later. He died in the period 84–98/703–17. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 36, 67; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 425; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, III, 247–48; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 386–89; *Iṣābah*, III, 267, 271–72.

217. Apparently Māhān Abū Sālim al-Ḥanafī, a Kūfan traditionist who was executed in 83/702 by al-Ḥajjāj. This would make him a little early for Sayf's *isnād*, but Sayf is not meticulous about chronology. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 25–26.

218. Unidentified.

219. The same as Qusyāthā or Bāqusyāthā on the west bank of the Euphrates opposite al-Marwaḥah not far from al-Kūfah. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 306.

until he entered Khālid's camp, whereupon he made peace with him for Bāniqyā and Basmā,[220] guaranteeing to him all that was in them and their lands from the bank of the Euphrates. He also contracted for himself, his family, and his people to pay ten thousand dīnārs, other than the choice spoils, the spoils of Kisrā.[221] In addition, every person had to pay four dirhams [as capitation tax]. A document was written up for them. Both sides were faithful to the charter, which
[2050] was not to apply should Persia [re]conquer [the concerned lands] by treachery.

Al-Mujālid joins the other transmitters regarding the [text of] the charter [as follows]:

> In the name of God, the All-Compassionate, the Merciful. This is a document from Khālid b. al-Walīd to Ṣalūbā b. Nasṭūnā and his people. I give you a covenant on condition [of payment] of the *jizyah* in return for protection. [This is a requirement] for whoever is able [to pay in] both Bāniqyā and Basmā, in the amount of ten thousand dīnārs, aside from the chosen spoils, the wealthy according to the amount of his wealth, and the poor according to the extent of his poverty, every year. You have been made your people's representative; they have accepted you. I and those with me have accepted. I am satisfied, and your people are also satisfied. Therefore, you have a guarantee of security and protection, so that, if we protect you, we are entitled to the *jizyah*, but, if not, then not until we do protect you. Witnessed by Hishām b. al-Walīd, al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr, Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥimyarī,[222] and Ḥanẓalah b. al-Rabīʿ,[223] and written in Ṣafar 12 (17 April–15 May 633).

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220. Probably the same as Bārūsmā. See p. 3, above.

221. Text: *kharazah*; read: *ḥarazah*, as on p. 36, above.

222. This would seem to be a mistake for al-Bajalī, as Ms. IH somewhat clumsily tried to emend. However, it is possible that Sayf was trying to emphasize that Jarīr al-Bajalī did not participate in the earliest conquests, as he does elsewhere, e.g., p. 36, above. Note that in this list only this Jarīr is identified by a tribal surname.

223. Al-Usayyidī and a Companion of the Prophet; he was sent by the latter to al-Ṭā'if, fought later at al-Qādisiyyah and Nihāwand, settled in al-Kūfah, abandoned ʿAlī at the Battle of the Camel, and then went to Qarqisiyā', where he died in the reign of Muʿāwiyah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 83; II, 298; Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 8, 95–96; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 55; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 77, 120; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 359–60; Donner, *Conquests*, 369, 393, 430.

Al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh—Abū 'Uthmān—Ibn Abī Muknif,[224] Ṭalḥah—al-Mughīrah, and Sufyān—Māhān; also 'Ubaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — Muḥammad — Abū 'Uthmān, and Ṭalḥah—al-Mughīrah: The *dihqāns* were waiting for Khālid, watching what happened to the people of al-Ḥīrah. When the relations between the people of al-Ḥīrah and Khālid stayed in order and the Ḥīrans fulfilled the agreement, the *dihqāns* of al-Milṭāṭayn[225] came to him. Thus, Zādh b. Buhaysh, the *dihqān* of Furāt Siryā,[226] and Ṣalūbā b. Nasṭūnā b. Buṣbuhrā came to him. (It is given thus in the version of al-Sarī; however, 'Ubaydallāh says Ṣalūbā b. Buṣbuhrā and Nasṭūnā.) These men made peace with him for [2051]
the lands from al-Falālīj[227] to Hurmuzjird[228] for two million [dirhams]. (However, 'Ubaydallāh in his version says one million heavy[229] [dirhams].) In addition, the Muslims received whatever had belonged to the family of Kisrā and those who, along with them, had left their homes and thus were not parties to the peace agreement. Khālid set up his tent in his camp and wrote out a charter for them, [as follows:]

> In the name of God, the All-Compassionate, the Merciful. This is a charter from Khālid b. al-Walīd to Zādh b. Buhaysh and Ṣalūbā b. Nasṭūnā. You have a guarantee of security and must pay the *jizyah*. You are guarantors of those whom you have been chosen to represent of the people of lower and central Bihqubādh.[230] ('Ubaydallāh says: You are responsi-

224. Unidentified and considered to be a fabrication by 'Askarī, *Khamsūn wa mi'ah ṣaḥābī*, 87.

225. The banks of the Euphrates in the vicinity of al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 192; Donner, *Conquests*, 180.

226. A subdistrict of lower Bihqubādh east of al-Falālīj and west of Hurmuzjird. See Morony, *Iraq*, 149. Zādh is not mentioned elsewhere.

227. Two districts between the two arms of the Euphrates just above the Great Swamp and extending to the modern al-Fallūjah in the north; west of the lower Nahr Sūrā. See *EI²*, s.v. Fallūdja and al-Fallūdja; Le Strange, *Lands*, 74, 81; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 125 n. 67; Morony, *Iraq*, 149.

228. A subdistrict of lower Bihqubādh east of Furāt Siryā. See Morony, *Iraq*, 149–50.

229. Or "received," according to other manuscript evidence.

230. Bihqubādh consists of a large district divided into three subdivisions on the east bank of the medieval Euphrates, which is the modern Ḥillah branch. The most detailed discussion is in Morony, *Iraq*, 147–51. See also *EI²*, s.v. Bihḳubādh; Le Strange, *Lands*, 81.

ble for the *jizyah*[231] of those whom you have been chosen to represent.) [The *jizyah* is] two million [dirhams] to be paid every year by[232] everyone who is able, other than what is required of Bāniqyā and Basmā. You have given satisfaction to me and the Muslims, and we have given satisfaction to you, to the people of lower Bihqubādh, and to whoever has joined with you of the people of central Bihqubādh, regarding your possessions, that there is in them nothing belonging to the family of Kisrā or those who fled with them. Witnessed by Hishām b. al-Walīd, al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr, Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥimyarī, Bashīr b. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Khaṣāṣiyyah, and Ḥanẓalah b. al-Rabīʿ, and written in Ṣafar 12 (17 April–15 May 633).

Khālid b. al-Walīd sent out his agents (*ʿummāl*) and support
[2052] troops. He sent as agents [the following]: ʿAbdallāh b. Wathīmah al-Naṣrī[233] stayed at the upper part of the district at al-Falālīj to offer protection and collect the *jizyah*. Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh was in charge of Bāniqyā and Basmā. Bashīr b. al-Khaṣāṣiyyah was in charge of al-Nahrayn and stayed at al-Kuwayfah[234] by Bānbūrā.[235] Suwayd b. Muqarrin al-Muzanī was sent to Nistar[236] and stayed at al-ʿAqr,[237] which is called ʿAqr Suwayd to this day and was not named for Su-

231. Text: *ḥarb*; read: *jizyah*, as Cairo ed. See also Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXII.

232. Text: *thumma*; read: *ʿan*, as IH and Cairo ed. See also Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXII.

233. Sayf later places him in the North African campaign in 27/648. See Ṭabarī, I, 2814.

234. Also known as Kuwayfat Ibn ʿUmar for ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who stayed there when he was out of favor for slaying the alleged assassins of his father without a hearing. It was near Bazīqiyā, which, according to Ibn Rustah, *Aʿlāq*, 182, lay 10 km. south of the Nahr Kūthā and 15 km. north of Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 496; Le Strange, *Lands*, map II. This would place it near to Bārūsmā according to Le Strange. But Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 412, followed by Morony, *Iraq*, 149, would place it near al-Ḥillah in Bihqubādh.

235. Described by Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 331, as a place near al-Ḥīrah, but his report parallels that of Sayf here and may be derived from it.

236. A subdistrict of lower Bihqubādh, possibly north of Furāt Siryā on the Great Sarāt Canal, a part of the Nahr Sūrā. See Morony, *Iraq*, 149–50; *EI²*, s.v. Bihḳubādh.

237. ʿAqr Bābil, near the site of Babylon on the east side of the east branch of the Euphrates. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 136; Morony, *Iraq*, 150.

wayd al-Minqarī.[238] Uṭṭ b. Abī Uṭṭ[239] was sent to Rūdhmistān,[240] staying at a place on a river; that river was named after him and thus is called Nahr Uṭṭ[241] to this day. Uṭṭ is a man of the Banū Sa'd b. Zayd Manāh.[242] Those were the agents for [the collection of] the *kharāj* in the time of Khālid b. al-Walīd.

The frontiers in the time of Khālid were at al-Sīb.[243] Khālid sent out Ḍirār b. al-Azwar, Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb, al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah, Ḍirār b. Muqarrin, al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr, Busr b. Abī Ruhm, and 'Utaybah b. al-Nahhās.[244] They took up quarters at al-Sīb in the midst of his dominion. These were the commanders of the frontiers of Khālid. Khālid ordered them to raid and to be persevering. Thus they penetrated into what was beyond that [place] up to the bank of the Tigris.

[The same authorities] report: When Khālid had conquered one of the two sides of al-Sawād, he called for a man from among the inhab- [2053] itants of al-Ḥīrah and sent with him a letter to the Persians, who were then at al-Madā'in disputing and supporting [different parties] because of the death of Ardashīr. However, they did send Bahman

238. Suwayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who fought against al-Mukhtār in al-Kūfah in 66/685, defended it again against Shabīb b. Yazīd in 76/695, and was rewarded with the governorship of Ḥulwān in 77/696. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 76; II, 519.

239. His existence is denied by al-'Askarī, *Khamsūn wa mi'ah ṣaḥābī*, 277–79, and *'Abdallāh b. Saba'*, 187, as he is found only in reports derived from Sayf. His mention in Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 110, appears to be derived only from Sayf.

240. A subdistrict of lower Bihqubādh. See Morony, *Iraq*, 149–50. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 317, gives it as Dawraqistān, which is clearly wrong, as it refers to a place in Khūzistān.

241. Mentioned by Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 317, as a place near al-Ḥīrah, but the report is clearly derived from Sayf, showing no independent knowledge.

242. One of the three great branches of the great northeast Arabian tribe of the Tamīm. The others are the Ḥanẓalah b. Mālik, which is divided into the Dārim and the Yarbū', and the 'Amr b. Tamīm. See *EI*[1], s.v. Sa'd al-Fizr; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 59; II, 9, 497.

243. Lit., "the watercourse." Although several places with this name are mentioned, here it refers to two subdistricts, upper and lower Sīb, in the *ṭassūj* of Sūrā near Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah north of al-Ḥillah and east of the east branch of the Euphrates. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 293; Le Strange, *Lands*, map II. In this volume, it normally appears in reference to a specific canal, presumably that from which the district took its name.

244. The first three persons on this list are attested in sources other than Sayf, though not, except for al-Muthannā, in this campaign; the presence of the latter four appears to be fictitious.

Jādhūyah[245] down to Bahurasīr.[246] It was as if he were in charge of the vanguard [of a larger force]. Accompanying Bahman Jādhūyah was al-Āzādhbih with others like him. Khālid also called on Ṣalūbā to provide a man and then sent two letters with the two men. One of the men was to be sent to the elite; the other was to go to the commoners. One of them was a Ḥīran; the other was a Nabaṭī.[247] When Khālid asked the messenger from al-Ḥīrah, "What is your name?" the latter replied, "Murrah." Khālid then said, "Take the letter and bring it to the Persians, so that God may make their life bitter, or that they may become Muslims[248] and turn to God in repentance." Khālid also asked the messenger of Ṣalūbā, "What is your name?" He answered, "Hizqīl." Khālid said, "Then take the letter," also saying, "O God, wipe them out!"[249] (Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Mujālid and others reported a like version.) [The texts of] the two letters:

> In the name of God, the All-Compassionate, the Merciful. From Khālid b. al-Walīd to the kings of Persia. Praise be to God Who dissolved your order, made your plotting weak, and divided you among yourselves. Had he not done that to you, it would have been worse for you. Therefore, enter into our faith; we will leave you and your land alone and pass beyond you to others different from you. If not, that will happen [anyway], even though you loathe [it], by force, at the hands of a people who love death just as you love life.

> In the name of God, the All-Compassionate, the Merciful. From Khālid b. al-Walīd to the governors (*marāzibah*) of

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245. This man is mentioned by Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 109, in connection with the Battle of the Bridge. Ibn Khayyāṭ calls him Bahmān b. Khurhurmuzān (voweling of last word is conjectural). Presumably both Jādhūyah and Khurhurmuzān are derived from a single original word, as they resemble each other somewhat in the Arabic script. As Ibn Khayyāṭ's report is derived from Ibn Isḥāq, this Bahman must not be an invention of Sayf, though Sayf may have introduced him into contexts where he did not originally exist, as here. Sayf's version of Bahman's role in the Battle of the Bridge (see below pp. 188–93) may be profitably compared with Ibn Khayyāṭ's.

246. Original Pahlavī name is Veh-Ardashīr. This city, a part of the Sāsānian capital complex of al-Madā'in, was a round, walled city on the west bank of the Tigris and already in decline by the time the Muslims came. See *EI*², s.v. al-Madā'in; Le Strange, *Lands*, 34–35, map II.

247. This term, meaning "Nabataean," is used to refer to the non-Arab Syriac-speaking population of the Fertile Crescent. See *EI*¹, s.v. Nabataeans.

248. Or "surrender."

249. Both comments to the messengers are plays on their respective names.

Persia. Embrace Islam so that you may be safe. If not, make a covenant of protection with me and pay the *jizyah*. Otherwise, I have brought you a people who love death just as you love drinking wine. [2054]

ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — Muḥammad b. Nuwayrah — Abū ʿUthmān; and al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh — Abū ʿUthmān, al-Muhallab b. ʿUqbah, Ziyād b. Sarjis — Siyāh,[250] and Sufyān al-Aḥmarī — Māhān: The *kharāj* was brought to Khālid within fifty nights. Those who had guaranteed payment and those who were the chief men of the country districts (*rasātīq*) were hostages in his hands. Khālid gave all of that to the Muslims, who were thereby strengthened in their affairs. The Persians were left split by the death of Ardashīr regarding the kingship but in agreement on fighting Khālid and supporting each other [in that]. The Persians stayed like that for a year, while the Muslims were penetrating up to the Tigris. The Persians held nothing between al-Ḥīrah and the Tigris, nor did any of them have a guarantee of security except for those who had written to Khālid and received a written charter from him. The rest of the people of al-Sawād were either in flight, defending themselves in fortresses, or fighting [in the field]. The agents for collecting the *kharāj* were asked for written acknowledgments and would write releases for those liable to pay the *kharāj* out of one prototype:

In the name of God, the All-Compassionate, the Merciful. Release is given to whoever is from such-and-such from the *jizyah* for which the amīr Khālid b. al-Walīd made peace with them. I have received that for which Khālid made peace with them. Khālid and the Muslims are a united force for you against whoever changes Khālid's peace. As long as you acknowledge the *jizyah* and refrain [from breaking the agreement], your security will be guaranteed and your peace kept. We will be faithful to you. [2055]

They made to witness for them those companions whom Khālid had caused to witness: Hishām, al-Qaʿqāʿ, Jābir b. Ṭāriq,[251] Jarīr, Bashīr,

250. Perhaps representing the father of Sayf's dubious ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Siyāh al-Aḥmarī.

251. Jābir b. Ṭāriq b. Abī Ṭāriq b. ʿAwf al-Aḥmasī al-Bajalī, he was a Companion of the Prophet who occasioned a *ḥadīth*. He fought at al-Qādisiyyah and settled in al-Kūfah. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 212.

Ḥanẓalah, Azdādh,[252] al-Ḥajjāj b. Dhī al-ʿUnuq,[253] and Mālik b. Zayd.[254]

ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—ʿAṭiyyah b. al-Ḥārith[255]—ʿAbd Khayr:[256] Khālid departed after the people of al-Ḥīrah had written a document that he approved stating, "We have paid the *jizyah* for which Khālid, the good servant [of God], and the Muslims, God's good servants, made a covenant with us, on condition that they and their commander protect us from aggression from the Muslims or others."

Al-Sarī, in what he has written for me — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAṭiyyah b. al-Ḥārith—ʿAbd Khayr—Hishām b. al-Walīd: Khālid was finished . . . ; then the rest of the report is like the report of ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿd.

ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf; and also al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf —ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Siyāh[257]—Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit[258]—Ibn al-Hu-

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252. Azdādh b. Fasāʾah al-Fārisī, the Persian *mawlā* of Baḥīr b. Raysān al-Ḥimyarī. One of his traditions transmitted by other than Sayf appears in the collection of Ibn Mājah, so that he does not appear to be a fabrication of Sayf. But his status as Companion is denied by the best authorities, including al-Bukhārī and Abū Ḥātim. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 29. As his patron Baḥīr b. Raysān appears only as a governor of Yemen for Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah and is later mentioned in connection with al-Kūfah at the time of al-Mukhtār's revolt in 66/686, it seems that the reference to Azdādh here is chronologically far out of place. See Ṭabarī, II, 277, 601.

253. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Khuwaylid al-Aḥmasī, a noble of the Bajīlah, he governed one of the subdistricts of al-Ḥīrah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 223; II, 291; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 312.

254. Mentioned only by Sayf, apparently once. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 485, gives his name as Mālik b. Yazīd, but derives the report from Sayf; thus it is unlikely that this Mālik was a Companion of the Prophet. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 396, lists two Mālik b. Yazīds and twenty Mālik b. Zayds but provides little information about them, so that one of them may be the one meant here.

255. Abū Rawq al-Hamdānī; he was a Kūfan transmitter generally deemed reliable who also wrote a *tafsīr* of the Qurʾān. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 227; II, 205; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 369; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 418 (giving his *nisbah* as al-Ashʿarī); Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 224.

256. ʿAbd Khayr b. Yazīd al-Khaywānī of the Hamdān; he was a Kūfan transmitter who fought for ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn. See Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 136, 342, 353; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 221; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 96; *Tahdhīb*, VI, 124–25.

257. The *mawlā* of the Asad; he was a Kūfan transmitter of tradition and had a good reputation but is said to have been a leader of the Shīʿah. He lived with Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit and died in the time of al-Manṣūr. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 363; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 340–41.

258. A Kūfan *mawlā* of the Banū Kāhil of the Asad and a well-known transmitter of tradition with a fair reputation; he died in 119/737 at the age of seventy-three. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 320; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 178–80.

dhayl al-Kāhilī,[259] a similar version: Khālid commanded the two messengers whom he sent out to bring him the news. Khālid stayed [2056] in office for a year, residing at al-Ḥīrah, traveling around and about before his departure for Syria. Meanwhile, the Persians were overthrowing kings and enthroning others, there being no defensive effort except at Bahurasīr. That was because Shīrā b. Kisrā had slain all his [male] relatives descended from Kisrā b. Qubādh;[260] then the people of Persia had risen after Shīrā and after Ardashīr his son and killed all [the descendants of the kings] between Kisrā b. Qubādh and Bahrām Jūr.[261] After that, they remained unable to agree on anyone to make king.

ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — ʿAmr and al-Mujālid — al-Shaʿbī: In the period between his conquest of al-Ḥīrah and his departure for Syria, Khālid b. al-Walīd continued for more than a year to deal with the work of ʿIyāḍ that had been reported to him. Khālid declared:

> If not for what the caliph entrusted me with, I would not have saved ʿIyāḍ. He was grieving and causing grief at Dūmah. There was nothing left to do except to conquer Persia. It was behavior (*sunnah*) like the behavior of women. The caliph had enjoined him not to invade their land further as long as any of their organized forces were behind him. And the Persians [then] had a force at al-ʿAyn,[262] another at al-Anbār,[263] and another at al-Firāḍ.[264]

When Khālid's dispatches fell into the hands of the people of al-Ma-

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259. Unidentified.

260. The Sāsānian king Khusraw I Anūshirwān, who reigned 531–79 C.E.

261. The Sāsānian king Bahrām V, who reigned 420–38 C.E.

262. ʿAyn al-Tamr. An oasis 61 km. west of Karbalāʾ and due south of al-Ramādī, it was administratively part of upper Bihqubādh. Its inhabitants were of the Taghlib, Namir, and Asad. See *EI²*, s.v. ʿAyn al-Tamr; Le Strange, *Lands*, 65, 81; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 361–63, 365, esp. n. 92; *Middle Euphrates*, 297–98, 307–8; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 176–77.

263. A large town on the Euphrates strategically situated at the head of the irrigation system of central Iraq. See *EI²*, s.v. al-Anbār; Le Strange, *Lands*, 65–66; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 295–97.

264. Identified by Musil as al-Furḍah, then further identified with the ruins of al-Ṣāliḥiyyah 48 km. northwest of Abū Kamāl on the Euphrates. The same as ancient Roman Dura Europus, which marked the Roman-Persian frontier. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 10–13, 252, 313.

dā'in, the women of Kisrā's family spoke up, so that al-Farrukhzādh
[2057] b. al-Bindawān[265] was put in charge until such time as Kisrā's family agreed on a man [to make king], if they could find him.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh—Abū ʿUthmān, Ṭalḥah — al-Mughīrah, al-Muhallab — Siyāh, and Sufyān — Māhān: Abū Bakr had charged Khālid to approach Iraq from below and ʿIyāḍ to approach Iraq from above, [saying]:

> Whichever of you two is first to al-Ḥīrah, he is the amīr of al-Ḥīrah. Then when you have joined forces at al-Ḥīrah, God willing, routed the forces between the Arabs and Persia, and are safe from the Muslims being attacked from behind, let one of you stay at al-Ḥīrah while the other attacks the Persians. Fight them patiently for the sake of what you have in your hands. Seek God's help and protect yourselves from His wrath. Prefer the matter of the afterlife to this world so that you may obtain the benefits of both, and do not prefer this world lest you be denied both. Be watchful [to uphold] that which God has cautioned you about: abandon sins and hasten to repentance. Do not by any means persist [in sinning] and delay repentance.

Khālid kept what he had been commanded [to do], stationing himself at al-Ḥīrah. The lands between al-Falālīj and the lower Sawād came under his control. At that time, he divided the Sawād of al-Ḥīrah among Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥimyarī, Bashīr b. al-Khaṣāṣiyyah, Khālid b. al-Wāshimah,[266] Ibn Dhī al-ʿUnuq, Uṭṭ, Suwayd, and Ḍirār.[267] He divided the Sawād of al-Ubullah between Suwayd b.
[2058] al-Muqarrin, Ḥasakah al-Ḥabaṭī,[268] al-Ḥuṣayn b. Abī al-Ḥurr,[269] and Rabīʿah b. ʿIsl.[270] He confirmed [the placement] of the forces on the frontiers and left al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr as his deputy in charge of al-Ḥīrah. Then Khālid departed for ʿIyāḍ's province to settle what was

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265. Mentioned only in transmissions from Sayf in this volume; otherwise unidentified.

266. Unidentified.

267. But which Ḍirār?

268. As he does not occur in other sources, he is called an invention of Sayf by al-ʿAskarī, *ʿAbdallāh b. Saba'*, 187.

269. Al-Ḥuṣayn b. Mālik al-ʿAnbarī of al-Baṣrah, he founded a lineage in that city. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 81; II, 336.

270. Of the ʿAmr b. Yarbūʿ of the Tamīm, a Baṣran, he fought on the side of ʿĀ'ishah at the Battle of the Camel in 36/656, then was governor of Herat for Muʿāwiyah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 68; II, 479.

between them and to help him. He went by way of al-Fallūjah until he stopped at Karbalā',[271] where 'Āṣim b. 'Amr was in charge of the garrison. Al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis[272] was in command of Khālid's vanguard because al-Muthannā was [then] in charge of a frontier post facing al-Madā'in. The Muslims would raid the Persians, reaching the bank of the Tigris, both before Khālid's departure from al-Ḥīrah and after he had left to help 'Iyāḍ.

Al-Sarī — Shu'ayb — Sayf — Abū Rawq — someone who was present with them, giving a similar account, until the point where he said: Khālid stayed at Karbalā' some days. 'Abdallāh b. Wathīmah complained to him of the flies. Khālid told him, "Be patient for I want only to empty the [enemy's] armed posts that 'Iyāḍ had been commanded to deal with, so that we might settle the Arabs in them. By this the Muslims' troops will be safe from being attacked from the rear, and the Arabs coming to us will be sheltered and not have to sink in the sand. Thus the caliph has commanded us, and his opinion equals the support of the [whole] community." A man of the Ashja'[273] said regarding Ibn Wathīmah's complaint:

My mount has been detained in Karbalā'
    and in al-'Ayn until its fat [part] has become thin.
If she slackly moves from a kneeling place, she returns to it;
    by the life of her father, I most certainly despise her. [2059]
There keeps her from the water of every drinking place
    a company of flies whose eyes are blue.

Al-Anbār, Which Is Dhāt al-'Uyūn, and Kalwādhā[274]

Al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and their companions: Khālid b. al-Walīd went forth with that mobilization in which

271. The site of al-Ḥusayn's martyrdom. See *EI²*, s.v. Karbalā'.

272. Al-Mujāshi'ī al-Dārimī, of a noble Tamīmī lineage, he is said to have become a Muslim in Medina before the fall of Mecca in 8/630, more likely in the year of delegations, 9/631. He is alleged to have been the cause of the revelation of Qur'ān 49:4–5. Migrating to al-Baṣrah, he participated in many conquests in Iraq and Iran and conquered al-Jūzjān in northern Afghanistan in 32/652–53. See *EI²*, s.v. al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 61; II, 191; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 288, 294, 358, 447; II, 153, 161; IV, 246, 273, 282; VII, 37; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 78, 503–4; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, III, 89–94; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 58–59.

273. A Muḍarī subtribe and army regiment, one of the main branches of the Ghaṭafān. See *EI²*, s.v. Ghaṭafān; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 92.

274. The seat of a subdistrict on the east bank of the Tigris not far south of Baghdād. See *EI²*, s.v. Kalwādhā; Le Strange, *Lands*, 32, 80.

he left al-Ḥīrah. Al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis was in command of his vanguard. When al-Aqraʿ stopped at the last stage on the way to al-Anbār, a group of the Muslims had camels about to give birth but could not halt, finding no escape from proceeding forward with their camels in labor following them. When departure was commanded, they tied up the teats of the camels with young and carried the newborn camels on the rumps of others, for the newborns could not bear walking, and thus they came riding to al-Anbār.

Meanwhile, the people of al-Anbār had fortified themselves and built a ditch to stop the enemy, while they stayed high up in their castle. The commander of those troops was Shīrzādh, the governor of Sābāṭ,[275] who was the most sensible Persian on that day, as well as the most lordly and best liked among the people, both Arabs and Persians. The Arabs of al-Anbār that day called out from the wall, "Evil has overtaken al-Anbār by morning: a [grown] camel carrying its young one, and a camel[276] whose seeking of shelter has made it strong." Shīrzādh asked, "What are they saying?" When it was explained to him, he said, "As for these, they have pronounced against
[2060] themselves a sentence [of defeat]. That is because, if a people pronounce a sentence against themselves, its effect tends to stick to them. By God, if Khālid had not [already] passed by, I would have made peace with him."

While they were talking, Khālid came to the vanguard and approached the ditch. Fighting broke out.[277] Khālid would become impatient regarding it if he saw it or heard of it. He came to his archers to give them instructions, saying, "I see groups of people [here] who have no knowledge of warfare. Therefore shoot at their eyes; do not aim elsewhere." The archers shot one volley of arrows, then continued. As a result, a thousand eyes were put out on that day, so that that battle was named Dhāt al-ʿUyūn. The people shouted to one another, "The eyes of the people of al-Anbār have gone!" Shīrzādh asked, "What are they saying?" Then it was explained to him. He said, "*Ābādh, ābādh*,"[278] and sent a messenger to Khālid requesting

275. A part of the Madāʾin complex of cities, it lay on the west bank of the Tigris 5 km. south of Veh-Ardashīr = Bahurasīr. See *EI²*, s.v. al-Madāʾin.

276. Text *ḥiml*; read: *jamal*, as in Ms. B and Cairo ed.

277. Or "He started the fighting." See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXII.

278. This is a Persian expression meaning "Good! Bravo!" See Steingass, *Persian Dictionary*, 3.

peace with a condition that Khālid did not accept, so that he sent back Shīrzādh's messengers empty-handed.

Khālid came to the narrowest place in the trench with the army's weakest camels, which he slaughtered and then threw into the ditch, filling it up. Then he launched an assault across the ditch, the weak camels' [bodies] being the bridges for his troops. The Muslims and the polytheists came together in the ditch, but the enemy recoiled into their fortress. Shīrzādh sent messengers to Khālid, [again] requesting peace according to what he wanted. [This time] Khālid accepted his request, including the condition that he leave Shīrzādh's way free, delivering him with a group of light cavalry to the Persian lines,[279] but without letting them take any goods or valuables with them. Thus Shīrzādh departed.

When he came to Bahman Jādhūyah and told him the news, Bahman blamed him. Shīrzādh answered,

> I was among a people who had no minds! Their origin is from the Arabs. I heard them at their coming pronouncing upon themselves a sentence [of defeat]. Rarely does it happen that a people pronounce a sentence against themselves but that it takes effect upon them. Then the troops fought against the Muslims, but these put out a thousand eyes among our troops and the inhabitants of the land. At this, I knew it was sounder to make peace.

When Khālid and the Muslims had become secure at al-Anbār, [2061]
and the inhabitants of al-Anbār, feeling safe, had come forth, Khālid saw that they wrote in Arabic and were learned in it. He asked them, "What are you?" They replied, "A group of Arabs who settled amid a group of Arabs [who were here] before. The first of them settled al-Anbār in the days of Bukhtinaṣṣar,[280] when he allowed the Arabs. Thereafter they did not leave it." Khālid then asked, "From whom did you learn writing?"[281] They answered, "We learned writing from the Iyād."[282] They quoted the saying of the poet:[283]

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279. Lit., "a safe place for him."

280. Arabic for Nebuchadnezzar = Nabu-kudurri-uṣur, the famous king of Babylon who ruled 605–561 B.C.E. See EI^2, s.v. Bukh-Naṣ(ṣ)ar.

281. Lit., "the book."

282. An Arab tribe living in many widely dispersed locations west of the Euphrates. See EI^2, s.v. Iyād.

283. These lines are attributed to Umayyah b. Abī al-Ṣalt al-Thaqafī in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 47.

My people are the Iyād, if they were nearby,
or if they had stayed, even though their camels would have become thin,
A people who gained the broad expanse of Iraq when
they went off all together, as well as gaining the script[284] and the pen.

Khālid also made peace with those around al-Anbār. He began with the inhabitants of al-Bawāzīj.[285] The people of Kalwādhā also sent a messenger to him to make an agreement. He wrote out a charter for them and they became his confidants beyond the Tigris. Then the people of al-Anbār and the areas around it rebelled as a part of what would happen between the Muslims and the various nations of polytheists, except for the people of al-Bawāzīj, for they remained loyal just as did the people of Bāniqyā.

Al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Abd al-'Azīz, that is, Ibn Siyāh—Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit: No one in al-Sawād obtained a treaty before the battle except for the Banū Ṣalūbā, who are the people of al-Ḥīrah, Kalwādhā, and some of the towns on the Euphrates. Then these betrayed their agreements until they were invited to accept a guarantee of security [even] after they had committed betrayal.

[2062] Al-Sarī — Shu'ayb — Sayf — Muḥammad b. Qays:[286] I asked al-Sha'bī, "Was al-Sawād taken by force?" He answered, "Yes, including all the land except for some of the castles and fortresses. For some of these made peace on terms with their besieger,[287] whereas some were conquered outright." Then I inquired, "Did the people of al-Sawād obtain a security agreement that they concluded before the flight?" He replied, "No, but after they were called on [to accept an agreement], when they had shown willingness to pay the *kharāj* and it was taken from them, their security then became guaranteed."

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284. Or, "the cut sheet," referring to writing material, as in Ibn Hishām.

285. Here Bawāzīj al-Anbār, near the town of al-Anbār, is meant, rather than the distant Bawāzīj on the upper Tigris. According to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 301, and Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 503, it was conquered not by Khālid, but by Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī, certain of whose *mawlās* settled it.

286. Apparently Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Qays al-Asadī al-Wālibī, a Kūfan traditionist who transmitted from al-Sha'bī. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 361; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 412–13.

287. Lit., "him," with no antecedent.

About ʿAyn al-Tamr

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab, and Ziyād: When Khālid was done with al-Anbār, it being thoroughly under his control, he left al-Zibriqān b. Badr[288] as his deputy in charge of it. Khālid then headed for ʿAyn al-Tamr, where at that time there were Mihrān b. Bahrām Jūbīn[289] with a great force of Persians and ʿAqqah b. Abī ʿAqqah[290] with a mighty force of Arabs from the Namir,[291] Taghlib,[292] Iyād, and those who rallied to them.

When they heard of Khālid, ʿAqqah said to Mihrān, "Arabs are more knowledgeable about fighting Arabs. Therefore, leave Khālid to us." Mihrān said, "You have spoken the truth. By my life, you are indeed more knowledgeable about fighting the Arabs, just as you indeed are our equals in fighting the Persians." Thus he deceived ʿAqqah and used him for defense [against the Muslims]. Mihrān then said, "There they are for you! If you need us, we will help you." When ʿAqqah had marched off toward Khālid, the Persians asked Mihrān, "What made you say these words to this dog?" Mihrān replied, "Let me be, for I sought only what is better for you and worse for them. There have come against you those who have slain your

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288. Ḥuṣayn b. Badr al-ʿAwfī of the Saʿd Tamīm. He was appointed by the Prophet to collect the *ṣadaqah* of part of the Tamīm and the Ribāb. He stayed in the desert later, though he frequently visited al-Baṣrah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 77; II, 335, 606.

289. This would be a son of Bahrām Chūbīn, the general who rebelled against Khusraw II Parwīz 590–91 C.E. and is enumerated as Bahrām VI in the list of Sāsānian monarchs. In view of the fact that the rebellion was put down and its adherents executed, it is unlikely that anyone from this family would reemerge as a commander of a frontier garrison at this late date. Rather, this is probably another case of Sayf's adorning his reports with invented personages of illustrious ancestry, a tendency that also occurs with the reappearance of the defunct dynasty of al-Ḥīrah in Ṭabarī, I, 2226. On Bahrām Chūbīn, see Theophylact, *History*, 101–2, 150, 152–53, and passim; Pseudo-Sebeos, *History*, 14–16, 18–20, 29, 31–32.

290. ʿAqqah b. Qays al-Namarī, the defender of ʿAyn al-Tamr, who was captured and executed by Khālid. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 167; II, 191.

291. Al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ, a smaller branch of the Rabīʿah who originated in southern Yamāmah, then migrated in the wake of the Taghlib to al-Jazīrah, where they were located partly at Ra's al-ʿAyn on the Khābūr River. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 141; II, 444.

292. One of the two branches of the Wāʾil, the other being the Bakr, the Taghlib were located in the Jazīrah. They opposed Islam and clung to Christianity for a long time. See *EI*[1], *Supplement*, s.v. Taghlib; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 27–28, 541–42.

kings and routed your crack troops. I am warding them off with
[2063] these Arabs. If our Arabs defeat Khālid, it is your victory. If it is the other way, you will not be reached by them until they have become exhausted. Then we will fight them while we are strong and they are weakened." At this, they admitted the excellence of his view.

Thus Mihrān stuck to the spring, while ʿAqqah confronted Khālid on the road. In charge of ʿAqqah's right was Bujayr b. So-and-So,[293] one of the Banū ʿUtbah[294] b. Saʿd b. Zuhayr.[295] On his left was al-Hudhayl b. ʿImrān.[296] Between ʿAqqah and Mihrān was half a day's journey.[297] Mihrān was in the fortress with the mobile troops of Persia, while ʿAqqah was on the road of al-Karkh[298] in a defensive position.

Khālid came upon him while putting his troops in battle formation. Khālid completed readying his troops for battle and then said to his two wings, "Hold back for us what the enemy has, for I am going to charge." He personally assigned covering forces and then charged while ʿAqqah was arranging his lines. Khālid engaged him in close combat and took him prisoner. ʿAqqah's line was defeated without fighting, the Muslims taking many of them prisoner. Bujayr and al-Hudhayl fled, with the Muslims in pursuit. When the news reached Mihrān, he fled with his troops and abandoned the fortress. When the defeated remnants of ʿAqqah's forces, both Arabs and Persians, reached the fortress, they rushed into it, taking refuge there.

Khālid approached with the Muslim troops to besiege the fortress. He had with him ʿAqqah as a prisoner and ʿAmr b. al-Ṣaʿiq.[299] The

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293. Bujayr b. al-ʿAbd b. ʿAlqamah, the grandfather of ʿAlī's wife Umm Ḥabīb al-Sahbā'. See Ibn al-Kalbi, *Ǧamharat*, I, 164; II, 228.

294. Text: ʿUbayd; read: ʿUtbah. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXII.

295. A clan of the Saʿd b. Zuhayr of the Taghlib. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 164; II, 578.

296. Al-Taghlibī from al-Jazīrah; he seems to be featured only in reports from Sayf, who improbably alleges that he was a follower of the Tamīmī false prophetess Sajāḥ, who was really from the Taghlib. This seems to be an attempt to remove the stigma of Sajāḥ's resistance to Islam from the Tamīm by transferring it to their Taghlibī rivals. See Ṭabarī, I, 1911, 1913, 1915, 1920, 1930.

297. Ar. *rawḥah aw ghadwah*, lit. "a going home at night or a going forth in the morning."

298. A common Iraqi place name. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 447. None of the specific Karkhs that he lists fit here.

299. Apparently ʿAmr b. Khuwaylid al-Ṣaʿiq al-Kilābī. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 96; II, 176; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 297; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 166. His death does not seem to be reported except in this place.

enemy hoped that Khālid would be like those of the Arabs who would raid [and withdraw], but when they saw Khālid was intent [on taking them], they asked for a safe-conduct. But Khālid refused any but his own terms, and they agreed to this readily. When they opened [the gates], Khālid handed them over to the Muslims, who bound them.[300] Khālid commanded that ʿAqqah, who had been their protector, be beheaded so that the prisoners might despair of life. When the prisoners saw him thrown onto the bridge, they despaired of life. Then Khālid called for ʿAmr b. al-Ṣaʿiq, who was beheaded as well. Khālid beheaded all the men of the fortress and took possession [2064] of all that their fortress contained, seizing as spoils what was in it.

Khālid found in their church forty boys who were studying the Gospel behind a locked door, which he broke down in getting to them. He asked, "What are you?" They replied, "Hostages." He divided them among the Muslims who had performed outstandingly in battle. They included Abū Ziyād, the *mawlā* of the Thaqīf,[301] Nuṣayr, the father of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr,[302] Abū ʿAmrah,[303] the grandfather of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā the poet,[304] Sīrīn,[305] the father of Muḥammad b. Sīrīn,[306] Ḥurayth, and ʿUlāthah.[307] Abū ʿAmrah went to

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300. See Cairo ed., n. 2.

301. Unidentified.

302. The later conqueror of North Africa and Spain, he died in 97/716. His father, Nuṣayr, was the commander of Muʿāwiyah's guard. They usually are considered to have been *mawlās* of the Lakhm, but other identifications also exist. See *EI*[1], s.v. Mūsā b. Nuṣair; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, V, 318–29; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, *Taʾrīkh al-maghrib al-ʿarabī*, 238–56.

303. An Arab, al-Shaybānī of the Murrah b. Dhuhl b. Shaybān, he founded a famous family in Medina, celebrated by the great poet al-Farazdaq. See ʿAṭwān, *Sīrah*, 73–75.

304. An accomplished traditionist, poet, and orator, he was the tutor of Ayyūb, son of the caliph Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik. This was an important post, as Sulaymān was grooming Ayyūb for the succession when the latter died in 98/716. ʿAbdallāh continued to be a companion of the Umayyad caliphs, including ʿUmar II and Yazīd II, but fell afoul of Hishām. He lived until at least 126/744. See ʿAṭwān, *Sīrah*, 77–82. See also note 658, below.

305. According to Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, III, 146, he was taken captive at Jarjarāyā, not ʿAyn al-Tamr. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 303, reconciles the two reports by making him a visitor from Jarjarāyā in ʿAyn al-Tamr at the time of the capture. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 176, has the information that Sīrīn was Ibn Sīrīn's mother, rather than his father, which may represent an attempt to harmonize the conflicting traditions.

306. The *mawlā* of the Anṣār, one of the most famous traditionists of his time; he lived in al-Baṣrah. His dates are 33–110/654–729. See Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, III, 146; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 214–17.

307. These two men are unidentified.

Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah,[308] Ḥurayth to a man from the Banū ʿIbād,[309] ʿUlāthah to al-Muʿannā, and Ḥumrān[310] to ʿUthmān.[311] They also included ʿUmayr and Abū Qays,[312] who retained his family relationship (*nasab*) as one of the old *mawlās* of the Syrians. Nuṣayr was considered one of the Banū Yashkur,[313] whereas Abū ʿAmrah was considered one of the Banū Murrah.[314] These captives also included Ibn Ukht al-Namir.[315]

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, Abū Sufyān

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308. Reportedly an early Muslim, he is said to have been of the marginal al-Ghawth (or Ṣūfat al-Rabīṭ) b. Murr b. Udd, who were confederates of the Jumaḥ of the Quraysh, according to Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 532; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 299. However, according to another tradition, he was the son of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. al-Muṭāʿ al-Kindī but was attributed to his mother Ḥasanah, a *mawlāh* of the Jumaḥ. This tradition also states that Shuraḥbīl was himself a confederate of the Qurashī Zuhrah clan. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 514; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 325; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 162. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 214, gives both versions but prefers that of Ibn al-Kalbī. In any case, he was associated with the Qurashī nobles. He participated in the conquest of Syria and died in 18/639.

309. This tribal grouping from al-Ḥīrah contained settled Christian elements from various origins. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, II, 111; Trimingham, *Christianity*, 156, 171, 225, 278.

310. Ḥumrān b. Abān al-Namarī; he was actually the captive of a Fazārī, who sold him to ʿUthmān. He became one of the secretaries or the chamberlain of ʿUthmān during the latter's caliphate. ʿUthmān became angry with him for an indiscretion, whereupon Ḥumrān moved to al-Baṣrah, where he lived in the quarter of al-Jufrah and was one of the leaders of the pro-Umayyad party against al-Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr in 71/692. After al-Muṣʿab was killed he was able to take power briefly as governor of al-Baṣrah for the Umayyads. He also is said to have taken power in al-Baṣrah for the Umayyads on the abdication of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī at the beginning of 41/661, which would appear to be a retrospective duplication of the later occasion. He is further said to have been a Syriac speaker, to have had a Jewish mother, and to have been given his Namarī genealogy by his descendants. See Ṭabarī, I, 2923–24, 3030, II, 11, 799, 801, 817–18, 837; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 167; II, 332; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 283; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 195, 342; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 432; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 176.

311. That is, Ibn ʿAffān the caliph. See Note 310, above.

312. These two men are unidentified.

313. The Yashkur were an important subgroup of the Bakr b. Wāʾil, who were settled mostly in the oases of al-Yamāmah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 26, 592.

314. The Murrah b. ʿAwf, a subgroup of the Ghaṭafān who were later prominent in al-Jazīrah. See *EI²*, s.v. Ghaṭafān; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 92, 127; II, 19–20, 433. However, the family of Abū ʿAmrah are usually considered to have belonged to the Shaybān. See notes 303 and 304, above.

315. Ibn Ukht al-Namir is al-Sāʾib b. Yazīd al-Kindī. His tribal designation is in some doubt, however. Both he and his father are usually considered to have been Companions. Some have held Ibn Ukht al-Namir to have been the last Companion alive in Medina, dying in 82/701 or later. His paternal uncle was al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī, the early governor of al-Baḥrayn. The caliph ʿUmar is said to have put him in charge of the market of Medina. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 239; II, 499; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 12–13; *Tahdhīb*, III, 450–51.

Also it is most striking that this list does not include Yasār, the grandfather of the

Ṭalḥah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān,[316] and al-Muhallab b. ʿUqbah: When al-Walīd b. ʿUqbah came from Khālid to Abū Bakr bringing what Khālid had sent with him of the fifths [of the spoils reserved for the state], Abū Bakr sent him on to ʿIyāḍ as support. Al-Walīd came to ʿIyāḍ when the latter was besieging the enemy and they were besieging him, having seized the road from him. Al-Walīd advised him, "Circumspection in some cases is better than numerous troops. Send a message to Khālid asking him for reinforcements." ʿIyāḍ did so. His messenger came to Khālid just after the Battle of al-ʿAyn asking for help. Khālid rushed a letter to ʿIyāḍ from him, [saying,] "From Khālid to ʿIyāḍ. I am coming to you.

Hold [them] off a little, for there will come to you milch camels
bearing lions wearing worn-out clothes, regiments following upon them regiments."

Dūmat al-Jandal [2065]

[The same transmitters]: When Khālid was done with ʿAyn al-Tamr, he left in charge of it ʿUwaym b. al-Kāhil al-Aslamī[317] and then marched forth in the same formation with which he had entered al-ʿAyn. When the people of Dūmah heard that Khālid was marching against them, they sent [messages] to their allies among the Bahrāʾ,[318] the Kalb,[319] the Ghassān,[320] the Tanūkh,[321] and the Ḍa-

historian Ibn Isḥāq. This could be because Sayf did not want to include in this glorious ancestry the dean of the more sober Medinan school of historians. For other, different lists of the captives of ʿAyn al-Tamr, see Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 102; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 395; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 176.

316. Al-ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa miʾah ṣaḥābī*, 154, 274, considers him a fabrication by Sayf because he appears only in Sayf's *isnāds*.

317. Unidentified.

318. A tribe belonging to the Quḍāʿah, they were already concentrated in northern Syria and the reaches of the Euphrates at the time of the Islamic conquest. See *EI²*, s.v. Bahrāʾ; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 88–89, 220.

319. The great Syrian tribe of the Quḍāʿah that tended to hold a dominant position under the Umayyads, it dominated a large territory in the Syrian Desert stretching from Dūmat al-Jandal to Palmyra. See *EI²*, s.v. Kalb b. Wabara; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 76–79, 369; Donner, *Conquests*, 106–7.

320. This tribe, which was basically established in southern Syria, particularly in the area of the present state of Jordan, is best known for the sixth century C.E. Roman client state that it had founded east of the Jordan river, with its capital at Buṣrā al-Shaʾm (ancient Bostra). The Banū Ghassān were Monophysite Christians, so that, although here they are portrayed as resisting the Muslims, the actual extent of their support for the Romans is doubtful. See *EI²*, s.v. Ghassān; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 176; II, 35–38, 273; Donner, *Conquests*, 107–8.

321. An Arab tribal confederation not linked closely with either the Maʿadd or the

jāʿim.[322] Even before Wadīʿah[323] had come to them with the Kalb, the Bahrāʾ, and his supporter Ibn Wabarah b. Rūmānis,[324] and Ibn al-Ḥidrijān[325] had come to them with the Ḍajāʿim, and Ibn al-Ayham[326] with groups of the Ghassān and the Tanūkh, they caused grief to ʿIyāḍ and suffered from him as well.

When word of Khālid's approach reached them, their two leaders, Ukaydir b. ʿAbd al-Malik[327] and al-Jūdī b. Rabīʿah,[328] disagreed [about what to do]. Ukaydir said, "I am the most knowledgeable of people about Khālid. No one is better omened than he, nor sharper in war. No people, regardless of whether they are few or many, ever see Khālid's face but that they flee from him. Therefore obey me and make peace with the enemy." But they refused him, so that he said, "I will never conspire with you to make war on Khālid. It is your affair." Then he went on his way. That [word] reached Khālid, who sent out ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr to stop Ukaydir. ʿĀṣim captured Ukaydir, who said, "I have not met other than the amīr Khālid." When he was brought to Khālid, the latter had him beheaded and took the property that had been with him.

Yemen, the Tanūkh lived between al-Ḥīrah and al-Anbār on the Euphrates, with other branches in Qinnasrīn and around Aleppo. See *EI*[1], *Supplement*, s.v. Tanūkh; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 297; II, 80–84, 544–45.

322. Phylarchs of the Arab marches for the Romans before the Ghassānids, also possibly associated with northern Syria, as they were of the Salīḥ, a branch of the Quḍāʿah. See *EI*[1], s.v. Salīḥ; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 326; II, 86, 240, 296. See also note 433, below.

323. Unidentified.

324. Al-Kalbī. Wabarah was the half brother of the last Lakhmid king of al-Ḥīrah, al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir, through their mother. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 290; II, 581; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 267. Possibly this Ibn Wabarah is simply another adornment to the narrative.

325. Neither of the two al-Ḥidrijāns found in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 323, nor the one in Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 327, seems remotely connected with this personage.

326. Jabalah b. al-Ayham al-Ghassānī, the last ruler of the Ghassānid client state of the Romans. He embraced Islam but afterward reverted to Christianity, retiring to an estate in Cappadocia, where his descendants long flourished. Caskel places his reversion to Christianity after the Battle of the Yarmūk. See *EI*[2], s.v. Djabala b. al-Ayham; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 193; II, 248; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 125–27, 132.

327. Al-Sukūnī al-Kindī. He was the Christian prince of Dūmat al-Jandal who was forced to pay tribute by the Prophet's expedition of 9/631 to Tabūk. At the Prophet's death in 11/632 he stopped and either migrated or was forced to migrate toward al-Ḥīrah, near which he built a new Dūmah, according to Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 241; II, 566–67. This suggests that the Dūmah in question here may have been nearer to al-Ḥīrah than Dūmat al-Jandal, which would better fit Khālid's itinerary in the text. See also Ṭabarī, I, 1702–3, 2374; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 526.

328. Unidentified.

Khālid then went along until he besieged the people of Dūmah, who were commanded by al-Jūdī b. Rabī'ah, Wadī'ah al-Kalbī, Ibn Rūmānis al-Kalbī, Ibn al-Ayham, and Ibn al-Ḥidrijān. Khālid put Dūmah between his own troops and the troops of 'Iyāḍ. The Christian Arabs who had reinforced the people of Dūmah surrounded the [2066] fortress of Dūmah, for the fortress could not hold them. When Khālid was secure, al-Jūdī came out, bringing Wadī'ah. They marched against Khālid, while Ibn al-Ḥidrijān and Ibn al-Ayham went forth against 'Iyāḍ. They fought, and God defeated al-Jūdī and Wadī'ah at the hands of Khālid, while 'Iyāḍ defeated those facing him, and the Muslims pursued them. As for Khālid, he seized al-Jūdī most strongly, while al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis took Wadī'ah. The rest of the people recoiled into the fortress, which could not hold them [all]. When the fortress was full, those inside shut the fortress against their comrades, who remained around it, cut off. 'Āṣim b. 'Amr said, "O Banū Tamīm,[329] the Kalb are your confederates. Be charitable[330] to them and offer protection to them, for you cannot do [anything else] like it for them." They did [as he said], and the reason they were saved on that day was 'Āṣim's advice to the Banū Tamīm concerning them.

Khālid came against those who had retreated toward the fortress and slew them until he blocked the gate of the fortress with them. Also, Khālid had al-Jūdī beheaded. Then he had the [other] captives beheaded, except for the captives from the Kalb, for 'Āṣim, al-Aqra', and the Banū Tamīm said, "We have given them a guarantee of safe-conduct." Therefore, Khālid released them to them, but he said, "What is the matter between me and you? Do you keep the custom of the Jāhiliyyah[331] and neglect the commandment of Islam?" 'Āṣim answered him, "Do not begrudge them well-being, and do not let the devil possess them (*yuḥawwizhum*)."[332] Then Khālid ap-

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329. A great tribal grouping of northeastern Arabia, the Tamīm represented the archetypical Arab nomads more than nearly any other group. They consisted of three main branches—the Sa'd, the Ḥanẓalah, and the 'Amr—clans not belonging to these groups joined later. They were strongly represented in al-Baṣrah, al-Kūfah, and Khurāsān. See *EI*[1], s.v. Tamīm b. Murr; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 59; II, 7–10, 544.

330. Text: *āsirūhum*; read: *āsūhum*, as in Ms. IH and Cairo ed.

331. The pre-Islamic period, especially in Arabia, often translated as "the Age of Ignorance," "ignorance" meaning ignorance of Islam; thus the term is used today to refer to what is un-Islamic. See *EI*[2], s.v. Djāhiliyya.

332. Another possible translation, based on the text of IK, is "do not give them over to the devil's possession."

proached the gate and did not leave it until he had torn it out. The Muslims rushed in upon the enemy, killing the troops and making captives of the children, whom they kept with those who were left over. Khālid purchased the daughter of al-Jūdī, who[se beauty] was
[2067] extolled. Khālid remained at Dūmah but sent al-Aqraʿ back to al-Anbār. When Khālid was returning to al-Ḥīrah and had gotten near enough to reach it by morning, al-Qaʿqāʿ made the people of al-Ḥīrah welcome him; thus, they went out to meet him in celebration. Certain of them would say to others, "Pass on by us, for this is liberation from evil."

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and al-Muhallab: While Khālid was staying at Dūmah, the Persians [only] made suppositions about him, but the Arabs of al-Jazīrah,[333] being angry on account of ʿAqqah, wrote to them. As a result, Zarmihr[334] went forth from Baghdādh[335] with Rūzbih,[336] and the two of them headed for al-Anbār and set a meeting at Ḥuṣayd and al-Khanāfis.[337] Al-Zibriqān, who was in command at al-Anbār, wrote to al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr, who was at that time Khālid's deputy in charge of al-Ḥīrah. Al-Qaʿqāʿ sent out Aʿbad b. Fadakī al-Saʿdī,[338] giving him charge of al-Ḥuṣayd, and also sent out ʿUrwah b. al-Jaʿd al-Bāriqī,[339] giving him charge of al-Khanāfis. He said to the two of them, "If you see any forward troops, advance boldly [against them]." They went forth
[2068] and blocked the two Persians from [entering] the countryside, shut-

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333. The area between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, inhabited at this time mostly by the Rabīʿah. See *EI²*, s.v. al-Djazīra.

334. Unidentified and mentioned only by Sayf in this section.

335. Text: Baghdād; read Baghdādh, as elsewhere. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXII. The mention of the ʿAbbāsid capital here is possibly an anachronism.

336. Unidentified and mentioned only by Sayf in this section.

337. Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 134 n. 70, 309–10, based on Sayf's traditions, locates al-Khanāfis at al-Kāẓimayn, the modern northern suburb of Baghdād, 55 km. east of al-Anbār, though placing al-Ḥuṣayd closer to ʿAyn al-Tamr. The sparseness of the textual evidence and the doubtful value of Sayf's transmissions renders these possibilities uncertain, however.

338. Mentioned only by Sayf. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 110; ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa miʾah ṣaḥābī*, 87, 89, 340.

339. Al-Azdī, enumerated as one of the Prophet's Companions and a transmitter of tradition. After settling in Syria, he much later was sent to al-Kūfah by ʿUthmān, where he was one of the latter's opponents. He must have lived a long time, for he is also reported to have been an informant for al-Shaʿbī at al-Kūfah. See Ṭabarī, I, 2921; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 247; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 476.

ting them up. Rūzbih and Zarmihr [did not engage] the Muslims while waiting for those of the Rabīʿah who had corresponded with them to gather, for they had been corresponding with each other and had agreed on a time to meet.

When Khālid returned from Dūmah to al-Ḥīrah, on the eve of his departure, and that [news] reached him, when he had laid plans to attack the people of al-Madāʾin, he disliked disobeying Abū Bakr and adding anything to his instructions. Therefore, he hastened to send al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr and Abū Laylā b. Fadakī against Rūzbih and Zarmihr. These two preceded him to ʿAyn al-Tamr. A letter came to Khālid from Imruʿ al-Qays al-Kalbī,[340] saying that al-Hudhayl b. ʿImrān had gathered troops at al-Muṣayyakh and Rabīʿah b. Bujayr[341] was encamped at al-Thiny[342] and at al-Bishr[343] with troops. Both were angry on account of ʿAqqah and were heading for Zarmihr and Rūzbih. Khālid went forth with al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis in command of his vanguard, leaving ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm as his deputy in charge of al-Ḥīrah. He followed the route of al-Qaʿqāʿ and Abū Laylā to al-Khanāfis until he reached them at al-ʿAyn. Then he sent al-Qaʿqāʿ to Ḥuṣayd, putting him in command of the troops, and he sent Abū Laylā to al-Khanāfis. Khālid said [to the two of them], "Push them so that they may be gathered along with those who called on them for help in seeking revenge. And, if not, then attack them." But the two [Persian commanders] refused except to remain in their positions.

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340. Imru' al-Qays b. al-Aṣbagh of the Banū ʿAbdallāh; according to Sayf, he was the Prophet's agent in charge of taxes for the Kalb. Tumāḍir bt. al-Aṣbagh al-Kalbiyyah, also of the Banū ʿAbdallāh and the mother of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf's son Abū Salamah, may have been his sister, but no Imru' al-Qays appears among the sons of al-Aṣbagh in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 282. Therefore we may be faced with another of the siblings of distinguished persons with whom Sayf is wont to embellish his reports. See Ṭabarī, I, 1872; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 63; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 107; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 267.

341. Al-Taghlibī, attested in an *isnād* other than from Sayf in Ṭabarī, I, 1976–77. Otherwise, outside Sayf's reports he figures only as the father of ʿAlī's concubine al-Sahbā'. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 164; II, 288, refers to the father of al-Sahbā' as Ḥabīb b. Bujayr. For his daughter, see note 369, below.

342. On the southern slope of Jabal Bishrī in the Syrian desert, it is still known as Jubaylat al-Thiny. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 312.

343. The earlier form of the name of the present Jabal Bishrī in the Syrian desert west of Dayr al-Zawr. See *EI*², s.v. al-Bishr; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 312.

Ḥuṣayd

When al-Qaʿqāʿ saw that Zarmihr and Rūzbih made no move, he set
[2069] off toward Ḥuṣayd. Rūzbih was in charge of those Arabs and Persians whom al-Qaʿqāʿ passed by. When Rūzbih saw that al-Qaʿqāʿ intended [to attack] him, he sought reinforcements from Zarmihr, who came to his aid in person, leaving al-Mahbūdhān[344] in charge of his troops. The two sides met at Ḥuṣayd and fought. God slew the Persians in great numbers. Al-Qaʿqāʿ killed Zarmihr, and Rūzbih was also killed. ʿIṣmah b. ʿAbdallāh, one of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ṭarīf of the Banū Ḍabbah,[345] killed him. ʿIṣmah was one of *al-bararah*. Every clan (*fakhdh*) that migrated in toto is called *al-bararah*, whereas every group that migrated out of a tribe (*baṭn*) is called *al-khiyarah*.[346] Thus the Muslims consisted of *khiyarah* and *bararah*. On the Day of Ḥuṣayd the Muslims captured many spoils. The remnants of Ḥuṣayd retreated to al-Khanāfis and gathered there.

Al-Khanāfis

[The same transmitters]: Abū Layla b. Fadakī set out with those already with him and those who had joined him for al-Khanāfis. The defeated remnants of Ḥuṣayd had retreated to al-Mahbūdhān. When al-Mahbūdhān perceived [that], he and those with him fled, retreating to al-Muṣayyakh, where al-Hudhayl b. ʿImrān was. Abū Laylā met no treachery at al-Khanāfis. They sent the news to Khālid together.

Al-Muṣayyakh of the Banū al-Barshāʾ[347]

[The same transmitters]: When the news reached Khālid about the defeat of the forces at al-Ḥuṣayd and the flight of those at al-Khanā-

344. Unidentified and mentioned only by Sayf in this place.

345. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf. As the Ḍabbah were a part of the Tamīm tribal division to which Sayf also belonged, the reports of ʿIṣmah's rather exaggerated and otherwise unattested exploits should not appear surprising. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 482; Donner, *Conquests*, 195, 198, 373, 383, 436, 438.

346. The term *al-bararah* literally means "the righteous," and *al-khiyarah* means "the best."

347. According to Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 141; II, 224, and Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 314, the Banū al-Barshāʾ are Shaybān, Dhuhl, and Qays, the sons of Thaʿlabah, three subtribes of the Bakr b. Wāʾil. However, their genealogy suggests that this group might have been associated with the Taghlib originally, which would better fit the

fis, he wrote to his own forces, appointing for al-Qaʿqāʿ, Abū Laylā, Aʿbad,[348] and ʿUrwah a night and an hour on which they were to meet at al-Muṣayyakh, which is between Ḥawrān[349] and al-Qalt.[350] Khālid departed from al-ʿAyn, heading for al-Muṣayyakh on camels, avoiding horses. He stopped at al-Janāb,[351] then al-Baradān,[352] then [2070] al-Hiny,[353] from which he then departed. When it was that [appointed] hour on the night of the rendezvous they all came together at al-Muṣayyakh. Then from three directions they attacked al-Hudhayl, those with him and those who had fled to him, when [all of] them were asleep and slew them, though al-Hudhayl escaped with a few men. The ground was filled with the slain. The Muslims could liken them only to prostrated sheep.

Ḥurqūṣ b. al-Nuʿmān[354] had given the non-Muslims sincere advice and excellent counsel, but they had not benefited from his warning. Ḥurqūṣ b. al-Nuʿmān said before the attack:

Did the two of them not give me to drink before the horses of Abū
Bakr?

and so on. Ḥurqūṣ was married to a woman of the Banū Hilāl[355] called Umm Taghlib. She was killed on that night along with ʿUbādah b. Bishr, Imruʾ al-Qays b. Bishr, and Qays b. Bishr, who are the Banū al-Thawriyyah[356] of the Banū Hilāl.

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geographical location here on the upper Euphrates. Curiously, the following report reveals the inhabitants of al-Muṣayyakh not to have been of the Rabīʿah at all, let alone of the Bakr or the Taghlib.

348. Abū Laylā and Aʿbad are not the same person. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 110, understands them as brothers.

349. Possibly ʿAqlat Ḥawrān in the Wādī Ḥawrān, in the Syrian Desert 27 km. southwest of Alūs on the Euphrates. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 311–12.

350. Possibly the wadi of Abū Jaltah, about 45 km. southwest of Hīt. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 310–11.

351. Possibly the spring of al-ʿAṣībiyyah, 27 km. north-northwest of ʿAyn al-Tamr. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 311.

352. A large waterhole still having the same name, 10 km. beyond al-ʿAṣībiyyah. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 311.

353. A site 60 km. northwest of al-Baradān, also still bearing the same name. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 311.

354. Either al-Bahrānī or al-Namarī. See Donner, *Conquests*, 312 n. 163, 333 n. 113.

355. A nomadic Qaysī tribe from western Najd, the Hilāl emigrated out of their homeland less than the other Qaysī tribes in this period. See *EI*², s.v. Hilāl (tribe); Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 92; II, 15, 282.

356. This family and its members do not seem to be identifiable or to appear elsewhere.

On the Day of al-Muṣayyakh, Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh killed, among the Namir, ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Abī Ruhm b. Qirwāsh, one of the Aws Manāh of the Namir,[357] who, along with Labīd b. Jarīr,[358] had a written document from Abū Bakr attesting their [profession of] Islam. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā's statement reached Abū Bakr, who had [re]named him ʿAbdallāh on the night of the attack. Abū Bakr said, "Glory be to You, O God, the Lord of Muḥammad!" He paid the blood money for ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, just as he paid it for Labīd, both of them having been slain in the battle. He also said, "But that is not required of me if they joined the fight against the Muslim army (*ahl al-ḥarb*)." He also appointed guardians to look after their children. ʿUmar held their slaying against Khālid, in addition to his killing of Mālik, that
[2071] is, Ibn Nuwayrah.[359] But Abū Bakr said, "The like of this is what those who dwell next to an army will find in their lands." ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā had said:

I say when the morning brings an attack,
"Glory be to You, O God, the Lord of Muḥammad.
Glory be to my Lord, there is no god but He,
the Lord of the lands and the Lord of newcomers."[360]

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAṭiyyah — ʿAdī b. Ḥātim: We attacked the people of al-Muṣayyakh. A man appeared there called by his name Ḥurqūṣ b. al-Nuʿmān of the Namir. Around him were his sons and his wife. In their midst was a vat of wine, with which they were busy. The family said to Ḥurqūṣ, "Who will drink at this hour and in the latter part of the night?" He replied, "Drink a parting draft, for I do not think that you will drink wine after it. Here is

357. For the Aws Manāh, see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ğamharat*, I, 167. The element *Qirwāsh* could be a confusion with the *Qawqān* that appears in Ibn al-Kalbī's tree, for the consonantal outlines of the two words in Arabic are similar.

358. Almost certainly the same as the Labīd b. ʿUtbah al-Namarī mentioned in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ğamharat*, I, 167; II, 375, for the latter was also of the Aws Manāh and was slain by Khālid. The appearance of the element *Jarīr* in his name presumably is a confusion with the name of Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī, who also appears in this report.

359. He was a chief of the Tamīmī Yarbūʿ who was killed by Ḍirār b. Mālik al-Azwar during the Riddah wars of 11/632. ʿUmar held his killing against Khālid b. al-Walīd, and it became a famous episode. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ğamharat*, I, 69; II, 393; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 75, 83–84; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 530; Ṭabarī, I, 1750, 1880, 1909, 1912, 1921–24, 1926–27, 1963; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 357.

360. Possibly, the *lands* in the line may refer to Iraq with its original inhabitants, whereas the *newcomers* (lit., "those who come to water") may refer to the Arab Muslim migrants to it.

Khālid at al-ʿAyn, while his troops are at Ḥuṣayd. He has heard about our mustering and will not leave us alone." Then he said:

Will you not drink before the disaster,
a little after the people have been puffed up with abundant dregs
And before our deaths, which by fate will strike [2072]
at a time that will neither increase nor decrease.

Certain of the horsemen hastened toward him while he was in the middle of that and struck his head, [knocking] him into his vat. We took his daughters captive and slew his sons.

Al-Thanī[361] *and al-Zumayl*[362]

Rabīʿah b. Bujayr al-Taghlibī had descended on al-Thanī and al-Bishr out of anger for ʿAqqah and set an appointed time to meet Rūzbih, Zarmihr, and al-Hudhayl. After Khālid had struck the forces at al-Muṣayyakh with what he struck them with, he went to al-Qaʿqāʿ and Abū Laylā, commanding them to set out ahead of him. On the night on which they parted, he appointed for them a time when they would come together, attacking the enemy from three directions, as he had done to the forces at al-Muṣayyakh. Then Khālid went forth from al-Muṣayyakh, stopping at Ḥawrān, then al-Ranq,[363] then al-Ḥamāh,[364] which today belongs to the Banū Junādah b. Zuhayr[365] of the Kalb, then al-Zumayl, which is al-Bishr including al-Thanī, both of which today are east of al-Ruṣāfah.[366]

Khālid started at al-Thanī, which he and his companions, coming together from three directions, attacked by night along with those who had gathered to [defend] it and had come to it, as well as those young men[367] who had joined in a motley group [there] for that [purpose]. The Muslims unsheathed their swords against them, and no

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361. Same as al-Thiny, note 342, above.
362. Identified by Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 312, with the rise of al-Zumaylī in the flatland north of Jabal Bishrī.
363. Emended by Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 312–13, to al-Rathqah, a waterhole about 140 km. northwest of ʿAqlat Ḥawrān.
364. Unidentified place.
365. This is the Junādah b. Suḥbān b. Imruʾ al-Qays b. Zuhayr. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 285; II, 265.
366. Ancient Sergiopolis, the famous city 40 km. south of the Euphrates in Syria. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Ruṣāfa; Musil, *Palmyrena*, 260–72.
367. Text: *al-shaʾn*; read: *al-shubbān*, as IH and Cairo ed.

one of that army escaped to deliver the news. Khālid took the children captive, sent God's fifth to Abū Bakr with al-Nuʿmān b. ʿAwf b. al-Nuʿmān al-Shaybānī,[368] and divided the spoils and the captives [among his troops]. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib bought the daughter[369] of Ra-
[2073] biʿah b. Bujayr al-Taghlibī, taking her [for himself], and she bore him ʿUmar[370] and Ruqayyah.[371]

Al-Hudhayl, when he had escaped, took refuge at al-Zumayl with ʿAttāb b. So-and-So,[372] who was at al-Bishr with a large force. Khālid attacked them at night with an attack like the last one, from three directions. They had already heard the news about Rabīʿah. They were slain in great numbers, unlike the numbers killed before. The Muslims got from them what they wanted. Khālid had taken an oath that he would most certainly seek out the Taghlib in their own homeland. Khālid divided their spoils among the men and sent the fifths to Abū Bakr with al-Ṣabbāḥ b. So-and-So al-Muzanī.[373] In the fifths were the daughter of Mu'dhin al-Namarī,[374] Laylā bt. Khālid,[375] and Rayḥānah bt. al-Hudhayl b. Hubayrah.[376]

Then Khālid turned from al-Bishr toward al-Ruḍāb,[377] where Hilāl b. ʿAqqah[378] was. His troops had deserted him when they heard of

368. Meant to be the son of the ʿAwf b. al-Nuʿmān mentioned in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 147; II, 211, this al-Nuʿmān seems to be mentioned only by Sayf.

369. Umm Ḥabīb al-Sahbā'. Ibn al-Kalbī calls her the daughter of Ḥabīb b. Bujayr and, with Ibn Saʿd, reports she was captured at ʿAyn al-Tamr. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 164; II, 535; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 20; V, 117; al-Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 42.

370. He had an extensive progeny. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 20; V, 117; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 80; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 66–67. He lived into the reign of al-Walīd I. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 42–43.

371. ʿUmar's twin sister, she married her paternal first cousin Muslim b. ʿAqīl, to whom she bore at least three sons. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 45.

372. Unidentified.

373. Unidentified.

374. Unidentified.

375. Unidentified.

376. Al-Taghlibiyyah; she is supposed to have been the daughter of a famous Taghlibī leader who flourished c. 610 C.E. She is not mentioned elsewhere, however. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 163; II, 286; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 336.

377. Probably a place at or near al-Ruṣāfah is meant. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 50; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 313.

378. Al-Namarī, the son of ʿAqqah b. Qays, who had already been killed at ʿAyn al-Tamr. See above, pp. 53–55. In Ibn Isḥāq's report, p. 124, below, however, his name is given as Hilāl b. ʿAqqah b. Bishr. Probably Qays, not Bishr, is correct, as Bishr is probably owing to a corruption introduced by the name of Jabal al-Bishr that occurs in his story here. See Ṭabarī, I, 1911, etc.; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 167.

Khālid's approach, and Hilāl drew back from it, so that Khālid did not meet any treachery there.

Al-Firāḍ

Then, after al-Ruḍāb and his surprise attack on the Taghlib, Khālid headed for al-Firāḍ. Al-Firāḍ is [on] the border of Syria, Iraq, and al-Jazīrah. He completed the fast of Ramaḍān on that journey,[379] in which the attacks and battles had been continuous, one after another[380]—the *rajaz*[381] poets often speak of them—connected with whatever battles had gone before. [2074]

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah, as well as ʿAmr b. Muḥammad—a man from the Banū Saʿd—Ẓafar b. Dahī,[382] and al-Muhallab b. ʿUqbah: When the Muslims came together at al-Firāḍ, the Romans became hot and angry and sought help from the nearby outposts of the Persians, who had also become hot and angry and sought reinforcements from the Taghlib, Iyād, and Namir.[383] These supplied them with reinforcements, then came to blows with Khālid, so that when the Euphrates was between them they said, "Either cross over to us, or we will cross over to you." Khālid answered them, "Rather, cross over to us." They said, "Then back away so that we may cross." Khālid replied, "We will not do [that], but cross over downriver from us." That was in the middle of Dhū al-Qaʿdah of the year 12 (21 January 634).

The Romans and the Persians said to one another: "Keep your sovereignty in your own hands. This is a man who is fighting on the basis of religion. He has intelligence and knowledge. By God, he will most definitely be victorious, whereas we will most certainly fail." But they did not profit from that [advice] and crossed the river below Khālid. When their lines were complete, the Romans said, "Wear distinctive emblems so that we may know from which of us came

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379. That puts him on his way to al-Firāḍ on 1 Shawwāl 12 (9 December 633).

380. Or "like pearls on a string."

381. One of the Arabic poetic meters, the only one allowing for couplets instead of continuous rhyme. See *EI*[1], *Supplement*, s.v. Radjaz.

382. Vocalization of Dahī conjectural. His mention in Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 243, is culled entirely from Sayf.

383. J. W. Fück, in *EI*[2], s.v. Iyād, considers the claim that Khālid defeated all these groups together dubious.

what was good or bad today," and they did [this]. Thereupon, they fought a long, hard battle. Then God defeated the enemy. Khālid said to the Muslims, "Press your pursuit of them. Do not grant them any respite." The cavalry commander would corner a group of them with the spears of his men; having collected them, they would kill them. On the day of al-Firāḍ, one hundred thousand were slain in the battle and the pursuit.

After the battle Khālid stayed at al-Firāḍ for ten [days], then announced[384] the return to al-Ḥīrah on 25 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (31 January 634). He commanded ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr to lead them on their journey and ordered Shajarah b. al-Aʿazz[385] to take charge of the rear. Khālid himself gave out that he was in the rear.

[2075]

Khālid's Pilgrimage[386]

Abū Jaʿfar: Khālid set out as a pilgrim from al-Firāḍ on 25 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (31 January 634) but kept his pilgrimage a secret. He had with him a number of his companions. He wandered through the land randomly until he arrived at Mecca by dead reckoning. That came to him easily, in a way that it would not come to either guide or wolf.[387] He traveled on one of the roads of the people of al-Jazīrah; no stranger way nor one more appropriate[388] than it, despite its difficulty, has been seen. Therefore his absence from the troops was short, so that the last of them had not arrived in al-Ḥīrah before he came to them in the company of the commander of the rear whom he had appointed, and the two of them arrived together. Khālid and his companions had shaven their heads. His pilgrimage was unknown except to those in the rear whom he had told about that. Abū Bakr did not learn of that until later, when he reproached him for it. His punishment was that he was sent to Syria.

Khālid's journey from al-Firāḍ [crossed] the width of the land randomly by his own reckoning. The road from al-Firāḍ passed through

384. Text: *adhina*; read: *ādhana*.

385. His mention in Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 165, derives only from Sayf, which shows that he was unknown except in Sayf's report. It is possible that his name was either confused with or suggested by that of the poet Abū Shajarah b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā al-Sulamī, who returned to Islam in 11/632 and might have joined Khālid's forces. On Abū Shajarah, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 5; IV, 101.

386. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 314.

387. Text: *rībāl*; read: *riʾbāl*, with Cairo ed.

388. Text: *ashadd*; read: *asadd*. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXII.

Mā' al-ʿAnbarī,[389] then Mithqab,[390] then ended at Dhāt al-ʿIrq.[391] [2076]
The road then headed east from there, bringing him from ʿArafāt[392] to al-Firāḍ. That road is named al-Sudd.[393] A letter from Abū Bakr came to him when he had just returned to al-Ḥīrah from his pilgrimage. It ordered him to Syria, bringing him both nearer and farther.

Abū Jaʿfar — his authorities: The letter of Abū Bakr came to Khālid at al-Ḥīrah when he had just returned from his pilgrimage. It said,

> Go until you reach the Muslim armies at al-Yarmūk,[394] for they are distressed and causing distress. Do not by any means return to the like of what you have done, for your worry will not, with God's help, worry the masses of the troops, and your method of removing the people's distress will never remove it. May your intention[395] and your favored position gladden you, Abū Sulaymān! Therefore, complete [your work], so that God may make [it] complete for you. Do not by any means let self-admiration enter you, so that you lose and fail. See that you do not rely upon any work [of yours], for God controls the bestowal of favor, and He is the Owner of reward.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAṭā' b. al-Bakkā'ī—al-Muqaṭṭaʿ b. al-Haytham al-Bakkā'ī[396]—his father: The veterans

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389. Unidentified.

390. In the territory of the tribe of Asad, it is to be located near al-Buzākhah, which was an area about 50 km. southwest of Ḥā'il, according to Musil, *Northern Neǧd*, 222–23. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 54, is not very helpful.

391. Properly Dhāt ʿIrq, it is a station two stages (about 90 km.) northeast of Mecca just below the Ḥijāz escarpment on the pilgrimage route from al-Kūfah. It is also the *mīqāt* for the pilgrims coming from Iraq, meaning that they must don the pilgrim's garb there, if not before. See Iṣṭakhrī, *Masālik*, 27; Ibn Khurdādhbih, *Masālik*, 125, 132, 147, 186, 190; Ibn Rustah, *Aʿlāq*, 179–81; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Buldān*, 26–27; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, 34; Muqaddasī, *Taqāsīm*, 78, 106, 109.

392. The famous plain some 22 km. east of Mecca where the pilgrims assemble annually on 10 Dhū al-Ḥijjah. See *EI*², s.v. ʿArafa.

393. Possibly this name refers to the mountain al-Sudd in the territory of the Ghaṭafān. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 197.

394. This is the river, still bearing the same name, that separates the present-day states of Syria and Jordan. It was the site of the decisive battle that gave the Muslims control of Syria. See *EI*¹, s.v. al-Yarmūk; Ṭabarī, I, 2347–49; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 118–19, Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 218–71.

395. Or "prosperity" (Ar. *naʿmah*), following Ms. IH.

396. He is mentioned in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 107; II, 277, as al-Haytham al-Muqaṭṭaʿ b. Hubayrah; therefore the name given here is probably a confusion.

of the battles of the conquest among the people of al-Kūfah would make threats at Muʿāwiyah[397] upon [hearing] certain things that reached them. They would say: "What does Muʿāwiyah want? We are the men of Dhāt al-Salāsil!" They would name what was between it and al-Firāḍ without mentioning what was after, out of contempt for what was after in comparison to what occurred before.

ʿUmar b. Shabbah — ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, according to the last-mentioned *isnād*: Khālid b. al-Walīd came to al-Anbār. They made
[2077] peace with him on condition of [their] evacuating, but then they gave him something he was content with, so that he confirmed them [in their possessions]. He also raided the market of Baghdādh[398] from the district (*rustāq*) of al-ʿĀl.[399] He sent al-Muthannā to attack a market in which there was a gathering of the Quḍāʿah[400] and the Bakr, and he took what was in the market. Then he[401] went to ʿAyn al-Tamr and took it by force, killing and taking captives. He sent the captives to Abū Bakr. They were the first Persian captives to come to Medina. He then went to Dūmat al-Jandal, where he killed Ukaydir and took captive the daughter of al-Jūdī. After this, he returned and stayed at al-Ḥīrah. All this was in the year 12.

In this year ʿUmar married ʿĀtikah bt. Zayd.[402]

In it Abū Marthad al-Ghanawī[403] died.

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397. This is the caliph Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān, who reigned 40–60/661–80. See *EI*¹, s.v. Muʿāwiya.

398. This would appear to be the predecessor of Baghdād, the ʿAbbāsid capital on the west side of the Tigris.

399. That is, from the west. Ustān al-ʿĀl consisted of a large district containing the territory on the ʿĪsā Canal between al-Anbār and Baghdad. It appears to have been much larger that a *rustāq*, being rather an *ustān*. See Ibn Khurdādhbih, *Masālik*, 7, 235; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Buldān*, 199; Muqaddasī, *Taqāsīm*, 133; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 70–71; Le Strange, *Lands*, 80; Morony, *Iraq*, 145. On the usage of *ustān* and *rustāq*, see Morony, *Iraq*, 129, 534, 536.

400. A great Arab tribal grouping, the Quḍāʿah basically represented the original tribes of northwestern Arabia and Syria. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳuḍāʿa; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Gamharat*, I, 274; II, 73–76, 470; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Inbāh*, 59–64; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 8, 440.

401. That is, Khālid.

402. A close relative of ʿUmar from the same Qurashī clan, the ʿAdī, she was successively the wife of ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr, ʿUmar's brother Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb, ʿUmar himself, and finally al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām. ʿIyāḍ b. ʿUmar was her son. She died after 36/656. See *EI*², s.v. ʿĀtika; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 356–57; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 277, 349, 365–66.

403. Kannāz b. al-Ḥuṣayn, he fought for Islam at Badr, was present at the conquest of Mecca, and died at Medina at the age of sixty-six. He was said to have been a confederate of Ḥamzah, the Prophet's uncle, and thus was counted among the Quraysh.

In it Abū al-ʿĀṣī b. al-Rabīʿ[404] died in Dhū al-Ḥijjah (6 February–6 March 634). He made al-Zubayr[405] the executor of his will. ʿAlī married his daughter.[406]

In it ʿUmar bought his *mawlā* Aslam.[407]

There is a disagreement about who led the pilgrimage in this year. Some say Abū Bakr led it.

Those Who Say Abū Bakr Led the Pilgrimage

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-ʿAlāʾ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yaʿqūb, the *mawlā* of the Ḥuraqah[408]—a man from the Banū Sahm[409]—Ibn Mājidah al-Sahmī:[410] Abū Bakr made the pilgrimage

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See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 138; II, 369; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 139, 153; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 678; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 47; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 270, 354; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 177.

404. A noble Qurashī, the husband of the Prophet's eldest daughter Zaynab, he became a Muslim in 6/627. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 121–23.

405. The well-known Companion, cousin of the Prophet's wife Khadījah, husband of Abū Bakr's daughter Asmāʾ, father of the anti-Umayyad ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, he is best known for his role in the Battle of the Camel in 36/656, in which he was slain fighting ʿAlī. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām.

406. This daughter, Umāmah, born before 8/630, died before 61/680, had for her mother Zaynab, the eldest daughter of the Prophet Muḥammad, and thus had the Prophet's blood in her veins. Later ʿAlī married her, and she bore him Muḥammad al-Awsaṭ, who died young. When ʿAlī had died, her distant Hāshimī cousin al-Mughīrah b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib married her to prevent Muʿāwiyah from doing so. She bore a son, Yaḥyā, to al-Mughīrah. She also remained al-Mughīrah's wife for more than twenty years and went into exile with him at al-Ṣafrāʾ, where both died. The existence of her children leaves the possibility that descendants having the Prophet's blood from other than the line of Fāṭimah may exist, though none is attested in the *nasab* books. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 400; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 253; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 236–37; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 16. Interestingly, Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 22, specifically denies that Umāmah had any children, and on p. 88 he claims that Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib has no descendants in the male line.

407. An important transmitter of tradition, with access to the house of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, he seems to have died c. 64/684 in Syria. He is said to have been of Ethiopian origin, specifically from the Cushitic Beja people, but also, with less probability, to have been among the captives from ʿAyn al-Tamr. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 10–11; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 99; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 266.

408. A Medinan transmitter of tradition with a fair reputation, he died in 132/750 or, less probably, 139/756. His patrons the Ḥuraqah are the Banū Ḥamīs b. ʿĀmir b. Thaʿlabah b. Mawdūʿah b. Juhaynah. See Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, IV, 129; Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, I, 293; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 186–87.

409. One of the clans of the Quraysh of Mecca. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 4; II, 498; Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 5–7, 94.

410. ʿAlī b. Mājidah, he transmitted from ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Little seems to be known about him. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 463; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 375.

in his caliphate in the year 12, when I had viciously fought a boy from my family. The boy bit my ear, cutting off a piece of it, or I bit his ear and cut off a piece of it. Our matter was referred to Abū Bakr, who said, "Take the two of them to ʿUmar so that he can look [into it]. If one causing the injury has reached adulthood, then let ʿUmar punish him." When we were brought to ʿUmar he said: "By my life, this one has certainly reached adulthood. Call a cupper for me!"
[2078] When he mentioned the cupper ʿUmar said, "Did I not hear the Prophet say, 'I gave my maternal aunt a boy. I hope that God will give her a blessing in him. I have forbidden her to make him into a cupper, a butcher, or a goldsmith.'" Then he punished the other boy.[411]

Al-Wāqidī—ʿUthmān b. Muhammad b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar[412] — Abū Wajzah Yazīd b. ʿUbayd[413] — his father:[414] Abū Bakr made the pilgrimage in the year 12. He appointed ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān as his deputy in charge of Medina.

Some authorities report that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb led the pilgrimage in the year 12.

Those Who Say ʿUmar Led the Pilgrimage

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: Some people say that Abū Bakr did not make the pilgrimage in his caliphate and that in the year 12 he sent either ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb or ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf[415] to take charge of the [pilgrimage] season.

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411. This entire report also appears in Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, I, 17, where the text differs only slightly. Interestingly, Ibn Ḥanbal's report does not specify the year. His version is also distinguished by a different chain of transmitters from Ibn Isḥāq on down.

412. A descendant of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. His family was in the service of the early ʿAbbāsids, when two of his first cousins (or brothers) held high posts in the administration of Medina. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 360.

413. An Arab *mawlā* of the Saʿd b. Bakr b. Hawāzin, he was a Medinan poet and traditionist, who died in 130/748. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XI, 79–85; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 349.

414. Improbably said to have been a contemporary of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XI, 79–80.

415. Al-Zuhrī, one of the great Companions of the Prophet and a part of the Qurashī aristocracy. He is credited especially with a major role in the election of the caliph ʿUthmān. He left an enormous progeny of some twenty sons and at least eight daughters who are named in the sources. Many of these were later transmitters of tradition who always were sure to emphasize his role, as did also his other relatives at Medina, like Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī and al-Miswar b. Makhramah. He died in 32/653 at the age of seventy-two. See *EI²*, s.v. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 124–37; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 265–73; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 131–35; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 416–17.

The Events of the Year 13

(MARCH 7, 634–FEBRUARY 24, 635)

This year Abū Bakr sent the armies to Syria after his return from Mecca to Medina.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: When Abū Bakr returned from the pilgrimage of the year 12, he prepared the armies [to go] to Syria. He sent out ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī[416] in the direction of Palestine.[417] ʿAmr took the road of al-Muʿriqah[418] to Aylah.[419] Abū Bakr [2079]

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416. Al-Sahmī. He earned fame for his military exploits, particularly the conquest of Egypt, which he then governed twice. He embraced Islam in 8/629. He supported Muʿāwiyah in the civil war and is supposed to have played an important role in the arbitration that followed Ṣiffīn. He died in office in 43/663. His mother was from the ʿAnazah. See *EI²*, s.v. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 409–11; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 2–3.

417. Ar. Filasṭīn. Although this is a well-known geographical term, it should be noted that the boundaries of late Roman Palestine were not the same as those of the modern territory established under the British Mandate. Roman Palestine consisted of three provinces, Palaestina Prima, Secunda, and Salutaris, embracing some territory east of the Jordan and also extending into what is now southern Lebanon. Early Muslim Filasṭīn, however, basically consisted of only the Roman Palaestina Prima, extending from the Mount Carmel ridge in the north to Gaza and the desert in the south. Any specific report in this volume could refer to either the wider Roman or the narrower early Muslim definition. See Le Strange, *Palestine*, 26–35; *EI²*, s.v. Filasṭīn; also see map in this volume.

418. Lit. "the sweat causing." It is the road from Mecca to Syria via the humid Red Sea coast. See Caetani, *Annali*, II, 1121 n. 3; Donner, *Conquests*, 115.

419. A town at the northern end of the Gulf of ʿAqabah, located just to the northwest of the present Jordanian city of al-ʿAqabah. See *EI²*, s.v. Ayla; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 549.

also sent out Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān,[420] Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ,[421] and Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah, who was one of the Ghawth, commanding them to follow the Tabūk[422] road to al-Balqāʾ,[423] [approaching] from the higher part of Syria.

ʿUmar b. Shabbah — ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, according to the *isnād* that I have previously mentioned — his authorities who have been mentioned before: Then Abū Bakr sent the troops to Syria at the beginning of the year 13. The first standard that he assigned was the standard of Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣī. Then he removed him before he had gone, appointing Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān [instead]. He was the first of the commanders who set out for Syria. They went forth with seven thousand [troops].

Abū Jaʿfar — Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq — ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr:[424] The reason for Abū Bakr's removal of Khālid b. Saʿīd was that Khālid b. Saʿīd, on coming from Yemen after the death of the Messenger of God, held back for two months from rendering the oath of allegiance to him. Khālid would say, "The Messenger of God gave me a command and did not remove me after that until God took him." Khālid had met ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and

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420. Al-Umawī al-Qurashī. He was the elder brother of Muʿāwiyah, with whom he embraced Islam in 8/630. Afterward, he governed Syria for ʿUmar for a rather brief period until his death in 18/639. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 8; II, 596; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 405–6; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 124–26; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 103, 130, 157; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 656–57.

421. ʿĀmir b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Jarrāḥ al-Fihrī of the Quraysh. He was one of the earliest Muslims and greatest Companions. He played an important role in the election of Abū Bakr. Later, he governed Syria until his death of the plague at the age of fifty-eight in 18/639 at ʿAmwās in Palestine. See *EI*², s.v. Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Djarrāḥ; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 384–85; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 252–54. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 122, makes him the overall commander on the Syrian front from the outset. On the exact route he took to Syria, see Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 100–1.

422. An important city in the northernmost Ḥijāz of Saudi Arabia, it has kept its original name. See *EI*¹, s.v. Tabūk.

423. Basically al-Balqāʾ is the plateau east of the Jordan River, corresponding roughly to the modern state of Jordan. In early Islamic times it was both a region and an administrative district. Its capital was ʿAmmān. It included at the minimum the land from the Wādī al-Zarqāʾ in the north to the Wādī al-Mūjib in the south. Thus it appears to have corresponded partially to the defunct Ghassānid phylarchy. See *EI*², s.v. al-Balqāʾ; Ibn Khurdādhbih, *Masālik*, 77; Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 326; Muqaddasī, *Taqāsīm*, 187; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 489; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 32–35, 41.

424. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm al-Anṣārī, he was a Medinan traditionist from a family of early traditionists and jurists and therefore well placed to transmit the Medinan tradition. He died in 130/748 or 135/753. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 164–65.

said, "O Banū ʿAbd Manāf,[425] you have willingly renounced your [right to] command; others have taken it up." As for Abū Bakr, he did not hold it against him, but, as for ʿUmar, he harbored a secret grudge against him on account of it. Then Abū Bakr sent the troops forth to Syria. The first man he put in command of a division (*rubʿ*) of them was Khālid b. Saʿīd. But ʿUmar took to saying, "Are you going to put him in command even though he has done what he has done and has said what he has said?" He kept on [about it] with Abū Bakr until the latter dismissed him and appointed Yazīd b. Abī Suf- [2080]
yān to command.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Mubashshir b. Fuḍayl[426] — Jubayr b. Ṣakhr, the Prophet's guard[427] — his father: Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣī was in Yemen at the time of the Prophet, being [still] there when the Prophet died. He came [to Medina] a month after his death wearing a silken robe. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib encountered him. ʿUmar shouted at those with him: "Rip up his robe! Can he wear silk and be left alone, in peace, in the midst of our men?" At this they ripped up his robe. Khālid said: "O Abū Ḥasan! O Banū ʿAbd Manāf! Have you been defeated regarding it?" ʿAlī answered, "Is it a power struggle that you prefer or a caliphate?" Khālid responded, "No one will struggle over this matter who is more deserving of it than you, O Banū ʿAbd Manāf." ʿUmar said to Khālid: "May God break your teeth! By God, (if) a liar will not cease talking about what I have said, then he will harm only himself." After this ʿUmar reported to Abū Bakr what Khālid had said. When Abū Bakr assigned the commands for the fight against the apostates, he included Khālid among those whom he appointed. ʿUmar [sought to] prevent him from doing that, saying: "He is bound to fail. He is too impulsive (*ḍaʿīf al-tarwīʾah*). He has indeed told such a lie that whoever propagates it or talks about it will not leave the earth.[428] Therefore

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425. The Banū ʿAbd Manāf were the branch of the Quraysh from which the Prophet's family, the ʿAlids, the Umayyads, and the ʿAbbāsids were all derived. Here Khālid b. Saʿīd, who also was one of them, is taunting them for allowing Abū Bakr to become ruler, for the latter was not of the ʿAbd Manāf, who had hitherto possessed the command. See *EI²*, s.v. Ḳuraysh; Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 5–7, 13, 17.

426. Apparently yet another transmitter mentioned only by Sayf.

427. Unidentifiable, but evidently not a Companion. Perhaps his title is meant to indicate he was the guardian of the Prophet's tomb. His only other mention is in Ṭabarī, I, 2575, where he transmits from ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who lived c. 6/627 to 70–73/689–692. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 53.

428. Ar. *lā yufāriq al-arḍa mudlin bihā aw khāʾiḍun fīhā*. This obscure phrase

do not seek his aid." But Abū Bakr did not go along[429] with him, rather putting Khālid in command of support troops at Taymā'.[430] He followed 'Umar in part of his affair and resisted him in part.

Al-Sarī — Shu'ayb — Sayf — Abū Isḥāq al-Shaybānī[431] — Abū Ṣa-
[2081] fiyyah al-Taymī[432] [of the] Taym b. Shaybān, Ṭalḥah—al-Mughīrah, and Muḥammad—Abū 'Uthmān: Abū Bakr commanded Khālid to stay at Taymā'. He went forth in a detachment until he stopped at Taymā'. Abū Bakr had ordered him not to leave it, to summon those around him to join him, to accept only those who had not apostatized, and to fight only those who fought against him until he received a different command. Thus he remained, and large numbers [of troops] joined him. The Romans, on hearing of the hugeness of that army, levied forces in Syria from the adjoining Arabs to send against the Muslims. Khālid b. Sa'īd wrote to Abū Bakr about that and about the gathering of those whom the Romans had mobilized and those who had joined them from the Bahrā', the Kalb, the Salīḥ,[433] the Tanūkh, the Lakhm,[434] the Judham,[435] and the Ghassān, from the near side of Zīzā'[436] at Thuluth.[437] Abū Bakr wrote back to him: "Advance, and do not flinch. Seek God's help."

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would seem to imply that Khālid's supporters should not be allowed to set out in further military campaigns.

429. Text: *yuḥtamal*; read: *yaḥtamil*, with Cairo ed. and Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXII.

430. An important oasis in the northern Ḥijāz between Khaybar and Tabūk, it has retained the same name to the present. See *EI*[1], s.v. Taymā'.

431. Sulaymān b. Abī Sulaymān Fayrūz, the *mawlā* of the Shaybān. He was a Kūfan traditionist, who died between 129/747 and 142/759, probably nearer to the former, in which case Sayf can barely have transmitted from him. He enjoyed a high reputation. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 345; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 641; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 197–98.

432. Unidentified.

433. An Arab tribe concentrated in the region of Ḥawrān in Syria, the Salīḥ seem to be little mentioned after this time and perhaps were absorbed by other groups. See *EI*[1], s.v. Salīḥ; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 279; II, 86, 507. See also note 322, above.

434. The ruling tribe of al-Ḥīrah in Iraq; the Syrian branch of the Lakhm seems to have migrated as early as the fourth century C.E. to the area of Ḥawrān, al-Jawlān, and Palestine, where it was absorbed by the Judhām. See *EI*[2], s.v. Lakhm; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 176; II, 53–56, 375–76; Donner, *Conquests*, 105–6.

435. A major Arab tribe of Palestine, Transjordan, and northwestern Arabia at the time of the conquest and later. See *EI*[2], s.v. Djudhām; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 176; II, 53–56, 264; Donner, *Conquests*, 105–6.

436. A village in central Jordan east of the Dead Sea, less than 30 km. south of 'Ammān on the pilgrimage route; it is now al-Jīzah. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 163–64; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 393, 554–55.

437. Unidentified.

Thus Khālid set off toward them. When he had drawn near them they split up, abandoning their camp, whereupon Khālid made camp there. Nearly all those who had gathered against him entered Islam. Khālid wrote to Abū Bakr about that, and Abū Bakr wrote back to him, "Advance, but do not make any attacks, so that you will not be assaulted from the rear." Therefore he set off with those who had gone forth with him from Taymā' and those who had joined him from the edge of the sand[438] until they stopped in the area between Ābil,[439] Zīzā', and al-Qasṭal.[440] One of the Roman patricians called Bāhān[441] came against him, but Khālid defeated him, slaying his [2082] troops. He wrote about that to Abū Bakr and asked him for reinforcements.

The first of the recruits of Yemen and what is between Mecca and Yemen had come to Abū Bakr, among them Dhū al-Kalā'.[442] Also 'Ikrimah[443] came back to him, having campaigned with those who

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438. This presumably refers to the great Nufūd Desert of northwestern Arabia.

439. That is, Ābil al-Zayt, which is mentioned by Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 50; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 382. Its site is near the present village of Ḥartā in northernmost Jordan just south of the Yarmūk River.

440. A town of al-Balqā' 25 km. south of 'Ammān and hence directly adjacent to Zīzā'. Though the existing fort there dates from Umayyad times, the town most likely already existed before, especially as the name seems to reproduce the Latin *castellum*. Numerous Qasṭals exist in greater Syria. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 347; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 483; Creswell and Allan, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 173–77.

441. This Roman general, who is called Baanes by Theophanes, was probably of Armenian origin (Bāhān = Vahan). He may have joined Herakleios when the latter passed through Armenia in his fight against the Sāsānians, for he is first recorded defeating the Persians in northern Iraq in late Rajab 6 (early December 627). Later, at the Yarmūk, he was defeated and killed, though Ibn al-Biṭrīq, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 15, says that he escaped and fled Herakleios's wrath by becoming a monk at Mount Sinai. Dissensions caused by him may have contributed to the defeat, though it would seem unlikely that he would have been declared emperor as asserted by Theophanes. See Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 23, 37–38; Stratos, *Byzantium*, II, 58–72, 206–9. He is identified by Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 118, who erroneously calls him Hāhān, as a Persian who became a Christian, which lends some support to an Armenian origin for him. On Theophanes's dating being off by a year, see Theophanes, *Chronicle*, xvii–xviii.

442. Samayfa' b. Nākūr al-Ḥimyarī, of the leading family of Yemen, embraced Islam before the Prophet's death, settled in Ḥimṣ, and later fought for Mu'āwiyah at Ṣiffīn, where he fell. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ğamharat*, II, 236, 510; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 266; III, 261, 264; V, 18; VII, 440; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 219–20, 222; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 434; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 492–93; Crone, *Slaves*, 95.

443. 'Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl 'Amr al-Makhzūmī. He was the son of the Prophet's most irreconcilable opponent and himself remained an opponent of Islam until after the conquest of Mecca in 8/630. After he embraced Islam, however, he threw into it much of the energy that had characterized his earlier opposition, was entrusted by Abū Bakr

had been with him from Tihāmah,[444] ʿUmān, al-Baḥrayn,[445] and al-Sarw.[446] Abū Bakr wrote on their behalf to those in charge of taxes (*al-ṣadaqāt*) that they replace those who asked to be replaced. All of the troops asked to be replaced, so the army was named the Replacement Army (*jaysh al-bidāl*).[447] Then they went to Khālid b. Saʿīd.

At this point Abū Bakr became anxious on account of Syria, whose matter caused him concern. Abū Bakr had sent ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī back to a post to which the Messenger of God had appointed him—that of [overseeing] the taxation of the Saʿd Hudhaym,[448] the ʿUdhrah,[449] and those associated with them of the Judhām and the Ḥadas[450]—before his going to ʿUmān. Then he departed for ʿUmān with a promise that his office would be restored to him when he returned. Abū Bakr fulfilled that promise. When he became anxious about Syria, Abū Bakr wrote to ʿAmr, saying, "I have restored you to the office to which the Messenger of God appointed you once and

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with a grand campaign in which he circled the Arabian Peninsula during the Riddah wars, and was martyred fighting for the faith at Ajnādayn, Marj al-Ṣuffar, or al-Yarmūk, the first being perhaps the most likely. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 17; II, 353; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 404; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 310–11; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 20–21, 63, 98, 104, 107, 118–19; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 72–75, 78–80, 82–84, 121, 123; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 496–97.

444. The coastal plain of Arabia adjoining the Red Sea. Tihāmah is clearly set off from the interior by the great Ḥijāz escarpment that extends along the length of Arabia. Tihāmah is mostly a desert plain, hot and humid. See *EI*[1], s.v. Tihāma; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 63–64.

445. The coastlands of Arabia fronting on the Persian Gulf. The modern eastern province of Saudi Arabia, also called al-Aḥsāʾ, makes up most of this territory. Its capital was Hajar, in the vicinity of modern al-Dammām. Early Islamic Baḥrayn is not to be confused with the modern usage, which confines the term to the present-day island state of al-Baḥrayn. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 346–49.

446. Lit., "the escarpment." It refers to the great west Arabian escarpment adjoining the Red Sea. It begins in Yemen and gradually declines in height from there north to Syria. Many specific al-Sarws are identified, but here it should be taken as meaning (north) Yemen in general. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 204–5 (al-Sarāh, which means the same), 217–18.

447. The passage is obscure. It appears that ʿIkrimah's troops were sent home and that he received replacements, which he then led to Syria. Thus Caetani, *Annali*, II, 1180–81. Those in charge of taxation were also in charge of recruitment. Perhaps each tribe had to furnish a certain quota. Alternatively, the text may mean that those who volunteered were sent to Syria, and all did so.

448. A Quḍāʿah tribe of northwestern Arabia associated with the ʿUdhrah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 330; II, 91–92, 494; Donner, *Conquests*, 102–3, 105–6, 109.

449. A Quḍāʿah tribe of the northern Ḥijāz, they were concentrated around Wādī al-Qurā, extending to Tabūk and Taymāʾ. See *EI*[2], s.v. ʿUdhra; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 330; II, 91–93, 565–66; Donner, *Conquests*, 88, 102–3, 105–6, 109.

450. A large subtribe of the Lakhm. Their territory before Islam lay in Transjordan. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 247; II, 290; Donner, *Conquests*, 105–6, 109.

named you once more, when you were sent to ʿUmān. [I have done this] in fulfillment of the promises of God's Messenger, so that you have taken it up once and then again. I would like, Abū ʿAbdallāh, to devote you entirely to that which is better fo you in your [present] life and your return to God, unless that which you have now is preferable to you." ʿAmr wrote back to him, "I am one of the arrows of Islam, and you, after God, are the one who shoots them and collects them. Look for the strongest, most fearsome, and best of them and aim at something with it, if [news] comes to you from some direction." He also wrote to al-Walīd b. ʿUqbah with the like of that, and [2083] he replied expressing preference for going forth to fight (*jihād*).

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Sahl b. Yūsuf[451] — al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad:[452] Abū Bakr wrote to ʿAmr and to al-Walīd b. ʿUqbah, who was in charge of half of the tax district of the Quḍāʿah. Abū Bakr had seen them off when he sent them to collect taxes. He gave each a single piece of advice:

> Fear God in secret and in open, for "Whoever keeps his duty to God, God makes for him a way out and bestows provision on him from whence he does not expect";[453] "And whoever keeps his duty to God, God forgives his sins and makes his reward great."[454] For keeping one's duty to God is the best admonishment God's worshipers can give to one another. You are on one of God's paths. On that path may you not be diverted from, abandon, or be careless regarding those things that hold support for your religion and protection for your affairs. Therefore neither flag nor slacken.

He also wrote to the two of them: "Appoint deputies in charge of your offices. Call to arms those in the areas around you." Thus ʿAmr put ʿAmr b. So-and-So al-ʿUdhrī[455] in charge of the upper part (*ʿulyā*)

451. Al-Salamī of the Salimah b. Saʿd of the Anṣār; he may have been the grandnephew of the pro-ʿUthmān Anṣārī poet Kaʿb b. Mālik, a connection that would fit Sayf's pro-ʿUthmān tendencies. His identity and existence are in some doubt, however. Ṭabarī, I, 2574; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 90; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, II, 98–99.

452. The grandson of the caliph Abū Bakr and hence an authority on the latter, al-Qāsim was one of the famous traditionists and scholars of Medina. His father was Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (10–38/631–58), the partisan of ʿAlī who participated in the revolution against the caliph ʿUthmān, but al-Qāsim can hardly have known him. He lived 36–106/656–725. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 187–94; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 279; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 333–35.

453. Qurʾān, 65: 2–3.

454. Qurʾān, 65: 5.

455. Unidentified.

of Quḍāʿah,[456] while al-Walīd appointed Imruʾ al-Qays to take charge of the district of Quḍāʿah adjoining Dūmah. They also summoned the people to arms, so that many men came to join them. Then they awaited the command of Abū Bakr.

Abū Bakr preached a sermon to the people. He praised God and lauded His Messenger and said:

> Every affair has factors that bring it together. Whoever reaches [an understanding of] them, they suffice him.
> [2084] Whoever works for God, God protects him. You must [work] earnestly and deliberately, for deliberation is more likely to accomplish goals. Is it not the case that anyone who has no faith has no religion, that whoever has no account of good deeds gets no goodly reward, and that whoever has no intention has no [reward for his] work?[457] Indeed, the reward in God's book for *jihād* in God's path is something for which a Muslim should love to be singled out. It is a commerce that God has pointed out, by which God has saved [people] from humiliation, and through which He has bestowed nobility in this world and the next.

Abū Bakr then supplied ʿAmr with some of those who had mustered to those who had gathered about him and put him in command of Palestine, ordering him [to take] a certain road that he specified. He also wrote to al-Walīd, ordering him to al-Urdunn[458] and supplying him with some of those available. He also summoned Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, putting him in command of a large army that included most of those who had mustered to Abū Bakr. Among his troops were Suhayl b. ʿAmr[459] and the like of him from the people of Mecca.

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456. This probably is the area of the northern Ḥijāz near the Red Sea, where ʿAmr had close relations with the Quḍāʿah tribe of Balī, which was the tribe of his grandmother and one of his wives. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 408, 411; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 111, seems to err in asserting that ʿAmr's mother was also from the Balī.

457. On the reward for works being according to intention, see the famous *ḥadīth* in Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 2.

458. A division (*jund*) of Syria with its capital at Tiberias, al-Urdunn was probably derived from the Roman province of Palaestina Secunda but did not exactly correspond to it. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Urdunn (second part); Iṣṭakhrī, *Masālik*, 58–59; Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 327–28; Ibn Khurdādhbih, *Masālik*, 78; Muqaddasi, *Taqāsīm*, 161–64; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 147–49; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 30–32.

459. Al-ʿĀmirī of the ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy of the Quraysh. He embraced Islam in 8/630 after Ḥunayn. Participating in the conquest of Syria, he died there of the plague in 18/639 or else at Marj al-Ṣuffar or al-Yarmūk. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 404–5; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 417–18; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 123; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 93–94.

Abū Bakr saw them off on foot. He also put Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ in charge of [some of] those who had gathered and put him in command of Ḥimṣ.[460] Abū Bakr went out with him; his two commanders [also] walked, the troops being with the two of them and behind them. Abū Bakr admonished each of the two.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Sahl — al-Qāsim, Mubashshir — Sālim,[461] and Yazīd b. Asīd al-Ghassānī — Khālid and ʿUbādah:[462] When al-Walīd came to Khālid b. Saʿīd to support him, when the troops of the Muslims whom Abū Bakr had supplied him with came — they were named the Replacement Army — and when Khālid had heard about the commanders and their coming to him, he attacked the Romans, seeking credit for himself but exposing his rear. The commanders hastened to fight the Romans. Bāhān feigned flight from him, recoiling with his army on Damascus. Khālid attacked [2085]
with his army, which included Dhū al-Kalāʿ, ʿIkrimah, and al-Walīd, until he stopped at Marj al-Ṣuffar[463] between al-Wāqūṣah[464]

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460. The Emesa of Roman times, it is still one of the largest cities of Syria. In early Islamic times the name also applied to its province (*jund*). See *EI*², s.v. Ḥimṣ; Iṣṭakhrī, *Masālik*, 61; Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 324–25; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 302–4; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 25, 35–36, 39.

461. This is a reference to Sālim b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who died in 106/725. In the preceding parallel *isnād* Sayf — Sahl — al-Qāsim, Sayf quotes an unidentifiable and probably fictional transmitter to link himself with the famous grandson of Abū Bakr; here he probably is doing the same to link himself with the famous grandson of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. On Sālim b. ʿAbdallāh, see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 195–201; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 357; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 436–38.

462. These two transmitters, who are always cited together by Sayf in this volume, appear to be Khālid b. Maʿdān al-Kalāʿī al-Ḥimsī (d. 104–8/721–26) and ʿUbādah b. Nusayy al-Kindī al-Urdunnī (d. 118/736), as suggested in Ṭabarī, *Indices*, 164, 309. These identifications appear plausible in view of their biographies, which reveal them to have been important Syrian traditionists. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 455–56; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb*, V, 89–91; VII, 217–18; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IV, 536–41; V, 323–24; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 118–20; V, 113–14. Donner, *Conquests*, 134, 317 n. 211, appears unaware or unconvinced of their identities, however, and indeed they are never fully identified in Sayf's reports; nor do the *rijāl* books ever say that they transmitted to Abū ʿUthmān, Sayf's *rāwī* here. Sayf may have wanted to imply that his reports were derived from these outstanding traditionists without having actually to say so. In other instances he has attributed reports to famous, reliable traditionists through unknown persons of his own invention.

463. A plain extending south of Damascus, near Tall Shaqhab. See *EI*², s.v. Mardj al-Ṣuffar; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 504. It was the site of a famous battle mentioned here and on pp. 107, 109, below. For the battle, see also Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 104. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 150, has turned the apparent Muslim defeat in this battle into a victory, led by Khālid b. al-Walīd no less, in which not a single Muslim was either killed or wounded!

464. The present-day village of al-Yāqūṣah at al-Yarmūk. See *EI*¹, s.v. al-Yarmūk. The report of Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 354–55, seems to be derived wholly from Sayf.

and Damascus. But the outlying forces of Bāhān surrounded him, blocking the roads against him without his knowing of it. Also Bāhān marched against him. He found Khālid's son Sa'īd b. Khālid[465] leading his men and seeking bounty (*yastamṭir*).[466] The Romans killed them. When the news reached Khālid he left, fleeing with a troop on bare animals (*jarīdah*), as those of his companions who could escaped on the backs of the horses and the camels, having been driven from their camp. The rout of Khālid b. Sa'īd did not end until he had reached Dhū al-Marwah.[467] Meanwhile, 'Ikrimah stayed with the troops to offer rear-guard protection. He repelled Bāhān and his soldiers from them, [keeping them] from pursuing him. He also stayed near Syria.

Meanwhile, Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah had come [to Abū Bakr] as an emissary from Khālid b. al-Walīd. Abū Bakr summoned the men to [join] him, then placed him in charge of al-Walīd's district and set out with him to give him counsel. When Shuraḥbīl came to Khālid [b. Sa'īd] he marched away with Khālid's troops, except for a few. [At the same time other] troops mustered to Abū Bakr, who put Mu'āwiyah in command of them and ordered him to join Yazīd. Mu'āwiyah then set out, [going] until he caught up with Yazīd. When Mu'āwiyah marched past Khālid, he took away the rest of Khālid's men.

Al-Sarī — Shu'ayb — Sayf — Hishām b. 'Urwah[468] — his father: 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb did not cease speaking to Abū Bakr about Khālid b. al-Walīd and about Khālid b. Sa'īd. Abū Bakr refused to listen to 'Umar regarding Khālid b. al-Walīd saying, "I will not put away a sword that Allāh has drawn against the unbelievers." But he

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465. His mother was Ḥamīnah (or, improbably, Umayyah) bt. Khalaf b. As'ad al-Khuzā'iyyah. Sa'īd was born in Ethiopia when many of the Muslims went there to escape persecution by the Quraysh about 615 C.E., which would make him very young at the time of Marj al-Ṣuffar. See Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 126; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 45.

466. Lit., "asking for rain."

467. A place in Wādī al-Qurā in the Ḥijāz. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 14, 128–29, 779; Donner, *Conquests*, 114.

468. Hishām b. 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām al-Asadī al-Qurashī, the nephew of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr and the grandnephew of the Prophet's wife 'Ā'ishah. He was well placed to transmit traditions in Medina and was one of the most important traditionists of his generation. Like many of the early traditionists from noble Qurashī families, he was the son of a slave mother. He visited al-Kūfah three times and finally became one of the companions of al-Manṣūr in Baghdād, where he died. He lived c. 61/680 to 145–46/762–63. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 321; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 248; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 48–51.

listened to ʿUmar with regard to Khālid b. Saʿīd after the latter had done his deed.

ʿAmr took the coastal road, and Abū ʿUbaydah followed the same route. Yazīd took the Tabūk road, and Shuraḥbīl went by the same path. Abū Bakr named the chief cities of Syria for them [as objectives]. He knew that the Romans would divert their attention; therefore he desired to have the descending one ascend and the ascending one descend, so that they would not forsake one another.[469] It turned out as he had supposed, and they achieved what he had wanted. [2086]

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAmr — al-Shaʿbī: When Khālid b. Saʿīd came to Dhū al-Marwah and the news [of that] came to Abū Bakr, he wrote to Khālid, "Remain where you are, for, by my life, you are one who plunges forward then shrinks back in fear, ever seeking to save [yourself] from deep difficulties that you do not wade into [intending] what is right, nor do you persevere for it." When afterward, Abū Bakr gave permission to him to enter Medina, Khālid said, "Pardon me." Abū Bakr replied, "Is it to be stupid prattle, even though you are a man of cowardice in warfare?" When Khālid had gone from his presence, Abū Bakr said, "ʿUmar and ʿAlī were more knowledgeable about Khālid. If only I had listened to them about him, I would have feared[470] him and avoided him."

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Mubashshir and Sahl; and Abū ʿUthmān — Khālid, ʿUbādah; and Abū Ḥārithah:[471] The commanders led the whole of the army toward Syria. ʿIkrimah served as a covering force for the army. The Romans heard about that, so they wrote to Herakleios.[472] Herakleios went forth until he stopped at Ḥimṣ, where he prepared troops to [face] the Muslims and mobilized his

469. This would appear to mean that he had them fan out to fill in the gaps along the front so that the different divisions could support one another more easily in the event of a Roman attack.

470. Or "been ashamed to use."

471. Muḥriz b. Jāriyah (or Ḥārithah) b. Rabīʿah b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. ʿAbd Shams al-ʿAbshamī al-Qurashī, he was said to have governed Mecca for ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and to have been killed in the Battle of the Camel in 36/656. Sayf's frequent citations from him are probably owing to the fact that his descendants had settled in al-Kūfah and were prominent there. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 159; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 153; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 78; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 368. The same person also is mentioned as one of the witnesses against Ḥujr b. ʿAdī in 51/671 in Ṭabarī, II, 132. For the identification of Abū Ḥārithah as Muḥriz, see Ṭabarī, I, 2573, which appears decisive; cf. Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIV.

472. Ar. Hiraql. The Roman emperor, ruled 610–41 C.E. The best native source for his reign is Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 6–40.

forces against them. He intended that the different Muslim forces would be too busy to cooperate, owing to the number of his troops and the excellence of his men. He sent his full brother Theodore[473] against ʿAmr. When Theodore set out toward the Muslims with ninety thousand [men], Herakleios sent out a rear guard, [which went along] until the commander of the rear guard camped at Tha-
[2087] niyyat Jilliq[474] in the highest part of Palestine. He also sent Jurjah[475] b. Tawdhurā[476] toward Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, so that he encamped facing him. In addition, he sent out al-Durāqiṣ,[477] who confronted Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah. He sent al-Fīqār[478] b. Nasṭūs in command of sixty thousand against Abū ʿUbaydah.

The Muslims dreaded them, as all the Muslim divisions together amounted to only twenty-one thousand, beside ʿIkrimah, who had six thousand. They all expressed their fears to ʿAmr by letter and messenger, saying, "What should we do?" He wrote letters back to them, sending them by messenger, saying: "The best plan is to join together. That is because the likes of us, if we combine, will not be beaten owing to [our] fewness. On the other hand, if we split up, there will not remain a man among us with enough troops to defeat any of those who are before us and are ready for us, for each of our divisions." Therefore, they set a time [to be] at al-Yarmūk in order to combine forces there.

Abū Bakr had also received letters like those they had sent to ʿAmr. His reply came back to them with the like of ʿAmr's view saying:

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473. Ar. Tadhāriq. A genuine character attested in history, he defeated the Persians in Anatolia in 5–6/626–27, supervised the Persian withdrawal from the occupied lands of the Roman empire in the Near East in 7–8/628–29, and was defeated by the Muslims in 13–14/634–35, though after Abū Bakr's death. See Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 22, 29, 37.

474. Most likely to be the present village of Jillīn in southern Ḥawrān in Syria. See *EI*², s.v. Djillik̡. It could be considered part of Palestine as it lay on the border of the former Roman province of Palaestina Secunda, which was to become the Muslim *jund* of al-Urdunn.

475. Text: *Jarajah*; read: *Jurjah*, as in Mss. B and IH; surely it is a form of George.

476. Vocalization based on Theodore. Thus the whole name is probably George, son of Theodore. He is also mentioned by Ibn Isḥāq in Ṭabarī, I, 2347.

477. Unidentified.

478. As explained in the notes to the Leiden text, this is probably the title *bikarios*, Latin *vicarius*. A *bikarios* was attached to the *patrikios* as an assistant in the early fifth century C.E., and therefore was of lower rank. Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 609.

> Combine, so that you may be one army. Meet the armies of the polytheists[479] with the army of the Muslims, for you are God's helpers. God comes to the aid of those who support Him and deserts those who show ingratitude to[480] Him. The likes of you will not be destroyed on account of [your] small numbers. Rather, ten thousand or more than ten thou- [2088] sand will be destroyed if they are attacked from the rear. Therefore take precautions about the rear. Join together at al-Yarmūk under your separate banners.[481] Let every man among you unite[482] with his companions.

[News of] that reached Herakleios, who wrote to his *patrikioi:*[483] "Combine against them. Camp the Romans in a place rich and generous, with a wide space for pursuit, [but] with [only] a narrow way of escape. Theodore is in overall command, Jurjah is in charge of the vanguard, Bāhān and al-Durāqiṣ are in charge of the two wings, and al-Fīqār is in charge of mobilization (*ḥarb*). Be of good cheer, for Bāhān is an effective reinforcement for you." They did [as the emperor had commanded] and camped at al-Wāqūṣah, which is on the bank of al-Yarmūk. The wadi became a trench for them, as it was a deep ravine between two mountains and could not be crossed. Bāhān and his companions wanted only for the Romans to recover their senses and behave in a nonaggressive manner toward[484] the Muslims, so that their courage might return to them.

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479. Although the Romans were Christians and therefore People of the Book (*ahl al-dhimmah*) and thus properly speaking not polytheists, they often are referred to as such in these passages of Sayf. It is difficult to tell whether or not this reflects the development of Muslim-Christian polemic in Sayf's time, but it is not unlikely, given the increasingly ideological content of the struggles of the early ʿAbbāsid period. For the development of some of this polemic, see Sahas, *John of Damascus*, passim; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 232–33.

480. Or "disbelieve in."

481. Lit., "in mutual support." See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. *s-n-d*.

482. Text: *li-yuṣalli*; read: *li-yaṣil*, with Mss. IH[1], Kos., and IA. The other reading, which is preferred by the Leiden and Cairo eds., based on Ms. IH[2], would mean "lead his companions in worship," which does not appear to fit the context.

483. Ar. *baṭāriqah*, Latin *patricii*. It was an honorary title, revived by Constantine for his closest associates, but it gained greater meaning when it was added to the nomenclature of the supreme military commander, a *magister utriusque militiae*, in 415 C.E. In Justinian's time (527–65 C.E.) there were five such *magistri*, but it is not clear whether they yet held the title of *patrikios*. See Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 106, 176, 178, 192, 609.

484. Or perhaps "find out the qualities of."

The Muslims moved from the camp where they had joined forces and camped against the Romans, right in front of them, on their route. The Romans had no route except against the Muslims. ʿAmr said, "O people, rejoice! By God, the Romans are surrounded! It rarely has happened that anything good comes to he who is surrounded." Thus the Muslims remained before them, on their road and their [only] way out, during Ṣafar 13 (6 April–4 May 634) and the two months of Rabīʿ (5 May–2 July). The Muslims were able neither to do anything against the Romans nor to reach them, the ravine —which is al-Wāqūṣah—being behind them and the trench before them. The Romans could not go forth at all but that the Muslims prevailed against them, until the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal (5 May–3 June) had gone by.

[2089] Meanwhile, the Muslims had requested reinforcements from Abū Bakr, informing him of the situation in Ṣafar. He then wrote to Khālid [b. al-Walīd] to join them and commanded him to leave al-Muthannā in charge of Iraq. Khālid came to them in Rabīʿ.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, ʿAmr, and al-Muhallab: When the Muslims had camped at al-Yarmūk and requested reinforcements from Abū Bakr, he said, "Khālid is for it," and thereupon sent a message to him while he was in Iraq, asking him and urging him to get going. Thus it was that Khālid came through. Khālid came to the Muslims, while Bāhān came to the Romans, having sent ahead before him the deacons, monks, and priests to incite desire [for victory] in the Romans and to urge them to fight. The arrival of Khālid coincided with the arrival of Bāhān. Bāhān led his forces out like a powerful [leader]. Khālid took charge of fighting him, while the [other] commanders fought those in front of them. Bāhān was defeated, and the [other] Romans followed one another successively into defeat, plunging into their trench [in flight]. The Romans saw a good omen in Bāhān,[485] and the Muslims rejoiced in Khālid. The Muslims fought in a ferocious rage, and the polytheists fought with vehement anger. The latter numbered one hundred forty thousand, of whom eighty thousand were bound, forty thousand of these chained and forty thousand tied with turbans.[486] They were

485. This reference seems out of place, but it means that, before the battle, the Romans were cheered by the arrival of Bāhān, as is clear from p. 160, below.

486. This was to prevent their fleeing in the face of danger or defeat.

eighty thousand cavalry and eighty thousand infantry.[487] The Muslims who had been present [at first] numbered twenty-seven thousand, until Khālid came with nine thousand, whereupon they became thirty-six thousand.

Abū Bakr became ill in Jumādā al-Ūlā (3 July–1 August). He died in the middle of Jumādā al-Ākhirah (16 August 634), before the victory by ten days.[488]

Al-Yarmūk [2090]

Abū Ja'far: Abū Bakr had assigned to each one of the commanders in Syria a district (*kūrah*) [to conquer]. Thus he assigned Ḥimṣ to Abū 'Ubaydah b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Jarrāḥ, Damascus to Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, al-Urdunn to Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah, and Palestine to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī and 'Alqamah b. Mujazziz.[489] When the latter two had accomplished their mission in Palestine 'Alqamah stayed on, and 'Amr[490] went to Egypt. When the commanders were about to enter Syria a large enemy force attacked each commander among them. Thus they agreed in their opinion to join together in one place and meet the combined force of the polytheists with the combined force of the Muslims. When Khālid saw the Muslims fighting under separate banners he said to them, "Are you interested, O chiefs, in something by which God will strengthen his religion, and through which neither loss nor harm will come to you either with it or from it?"

Al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū 'Uthmān Yazīd b. Asīd al-Ghassānī—Khālid and 'Ubādah: There came to it[491] with the commanders and the four divisions (*junūd*) twenty-seven thousand [men], in addition to three thousand from the defeated remnants of Khālid b.

487. These numbers do not add up to the alleged total of one hundred forty thousand. Probably there is a scribal error. In any case, the numbers are fanciful.

488. This version thus dates the Battle of al-Yarmūk to 5 Jumādā al-Ākhirah 13 (6 August 634).

489. Al-Mudlijī al-Kinānī. He was put in charge of several expeditions by the Prophet and the early caliphs, beginning in 9/630, until he was killed in a seaborne attack on Ethiopia in 20/641. His father's name is also given as Muḥarriz. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ğamharat*, I, 44; II, 154; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 639–40; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 163; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 505–6.

490. 'Amr is not mentioned in the text here, but the addition is demanded by the context.

491. That is, al-Yarmūk.

Saʿīd whom Abū Bakr appointed Muʿāwiyah and Shuraḥbīl to command. There were also ten thousand in the reinforcements of the
[2091] people of Iraq with Khālid b. al-Walīd. This was beside six thousand who remained with ʿIkrimah as a rear guard after Khālid b. Saʿīd. Thus they [all] amounted to forty-six thousand.

The Muslims did all their fighting under separate banners, each division and its commander [operating independently], with no one in overall command, until Khālid came to them from Iraq. The troops of Abū ʿUbaydah at al-Yarmūk were next to the troops of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī, and the troops of Shuraḥbīl were next to the troops of Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān. Thus Abū ʿUbaydah might conduct public worship with ʿAmr and Shuraḥbīl with Yazīd, whereas ʿAmr and Yazīd would not conduct public worship with Abū ʿUbaydah and Shuraḥbīl [all together]. Khālid b. al-Walīd arrived when they were in that situation. He encamped separately and held public worship for the people of Iraq. Khālid found the Muslims hard pressed by the Roman reinforcements under Bāhān, whereas he found the Romans cheered by their reinforcements.

But, when they met, God defeated them, to the extent that he forced them and their reinforcements to seek refuge in the trench,[492] for which al-Wāqūṣah was one of the borders. They stayed in their trench for almost a whole month, while the priests, deacons, and monks urged them on and bewailed to them [the fate of] Christianity, so that, upon reflecting, they went forth into the battle, after which there was no battle like it, in Jumādā al-Ākhirah (2–30 August). When the Muslims perceived their sally and desired themselves to go forth under their separate commanders, Khālid b. al-Walīd went out among them. He praised God and lauded Him and then said:

> This is a day from among the days of God. There should be in it neither pride nor wrongdoing. Make your striving sincere, seeking God by your work, for this day also has what lies beyond it. Do not fight any people in a formation and ar-
> [2092] rangement under separate banners and dispersing your-

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492. Text: *khanādiq*; read: *al-khandaq*, with Kos. This change is demanded by the following reference to "borders" in the singular and also accords with the rest of the text. On trench warfare, see *EI*², s.v. Khandaḳ.

> selves [along a line], for that is neither legitimate nor ought it to be. Those behind you, if they knew what you know, would keep you from [doing] this. In those areas about which you have not received [explicit] instructions, act according to what you believe would be the opinion of your ruler and what he would prefer.

They responded: "Give [it to us]! What is the [right] opinion?" He answered:

> Abū Bakr sent us [as separate commands] only because he thought that things would be easy for us, but, if he knew what has happened and is happening, he would have brought you together. Your situation is severer for the Muslims than that which has descended upon them and more helpful to the polytheists than their reinforcements. I have learned that this world has divided you from one another. God, God! Each man among you has received sole assignment of one of the cities for himself. It will not reduce his province for him if he admits the superior authority of one of the divisional commanders, nor will it increase his province if they submit to him. The appointment of one of you as overall commander will not diminish you [in stature] with God or with the caliph of God's Messenger. Let us get to it, for these [enemies] have readied themselves [for us]. This is a day of consequences. If we drive them back to their trench today, we will not cease driving them back. If, on the other hand, they defeat us, we will not succeed afterward. Come on, then, let us take the overall command by turns. Let one of us be in command today, another tomorrow, and another after tomorrow, so that each of you commands [at some time]. Leave me to take charge of you today.

Thus they put Khālid [temporarily] in command, considering it like the sallies of their troops, but the matter went on longer than what they had thought. The Romans went out in a formation the like of which those seeing [it] had never seen before. Khālid also went forth in a battle order that the Arabs had not used before: He set forth with between thirty-six and forty closely packed cavalry

squadrons (*kardūs*).[493] He said: "Your enemy is numerous and terrible. There is no battle order more numerous to eyesight than
[2093] squadrons."

Thus he deployed his center into squadrons and put Abū ʿUbaydah there. He also put his right into squadrons, with ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī in charge of it and Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah in it. He arranged his left into squadrons as well, with Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān in command. In command of one of the Iraqi squadrons was al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr. Madhʿūr b. ʿAdī also commanded a squadron, ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm a squadron, Hāshim b. ʿUtbah[494] a squadron, Ziyād b. Ḥanẓalah[495] a squadron, and Khālid a squadron.

Commanding the defeated remnants of Khālid b. Saʿīd, Diḥyah b. Khalīfah[496] held charge of a squadron, Imruʾ al-Qays a squadron, Yazīd b. Yuḥannis[497] a squadron, Abū ʿUbaydah a squadron, ʿIkrimah a squadron, and Suhayl a squadron. Furthermore, ʿAbd al-Rahman b. Khālid,[498] who on that day was eighteen years old, commanded a

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493. These would appear to be battalion-sized units, based on the numbers given, perhaps akin to the tribal regiments, but Sayf's information is not trustworthy. Their appearance here is almost certainly an anachronism, as Marwān b. Muḥammad is explicitly credited with initiating the use of *karādīs* in the second (eighth) century. See Ṭabarī, II, 1941, 1944; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 373.

494. Al-Zuhrī al-Qurashī, the newphew of Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ. He embraced Islam in 8/630, commanded at Jalūlāʾ in 17/638, settled in al-Kūfah, and was killed fighting on ʿAlī's side at Ṣiffīn in 38/658. See *EI²*, s.v. Hāshim b. ʿUtba; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 20; II, 280; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 127, 132, 219–21; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, 103–4, 114–16; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 593–94; Donner, *Conquests*, 119, 137, 207, 362, 400, 405, 409–10.

495. Al-ʿAmrī al-Tamīmī. He is mentioned only by Sayf. See Donner, *Conquests*, 365. He is meant to represent the father of Sayf's alleged authority Ḥanẓalah b. Ziyād b. Ḥanẓalah, mentioned on p. 000.ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa miʾah ṣaḥābī*, 227–41, identifies him as one of Sayf's fabrications for the glorification of the Tamīm tribal grouping. Sayf's Usayyid clan was a part of the ʿAmr Tamīm.

496. Al-Kalbī. He was allegedly sent as an emissary to the Roman emperor in 7/628, migrated to Syria, and died in al-Mizzah near Damascus c. 50/670. A variant tradition alleges that he became a Muslim only in the time of Abū Bakr. See *EI²*, s.v. Diḥya; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 288; II, 232; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 234, 607, 612–13; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 249–51; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 47, 51, 74; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb*, V, 221–23; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 473–74; Donner, *Conquests*, 137, 366.

497. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kūfī. It is curious that a Kūfan should be mentioned among the defeated remnants of Khālid b. Saʿīd. Perhaps this is a further embellishment by Sayf. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 664; Donner, *Conquests*, 366.

498. The son of Khālid b. al-Walīd and a Khathʿamī woman, he later served Muʿāwiyah as governor of Ḥimṣ, bore his standard at Ṣiffīn, and died of poison at Ḥimṣ in 46/666. His role at al-Yarmūk is found only in Sayf's report, which is doubtful, as he otherwise first appears as a commander in the reign of ʿUthmān. See *EI²*, s.v. ʿAbd

squadron, Ḥabīb b. Maslamah[499] a squadron, Ṣafwān b. Umayyah[500] a squadron, Saʿīd b. Khālid[501] a squadron, Abū al-Aʿwar b. Sufyān[502] a squadron, and Ibn Dhī al-Khimār[503] a squadron.

On the right ʿUmārah b. Makhshī b. Khuwaylid[504] commanded a squadron, Shuraḥbīl a squadron, [in which] Khālid b. Saʿīd was with [2094]

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al-Raḥmān b. Khālid; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 23; II, 129; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 324–27; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 198, 222, 240–41; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 67–68 (discounting Sayf's version); Donner, *Conquests*, 366.

499. Al-Fihrī. He is chiefly famous for having led many of the original Muslim conquests in northern Syria, al-Jazīrah, and Armenia. Later he led one of Muʿāwiyah's wings at Ṣiffīn. Said to have been born in Mecca c. 620 C.E., he died in Armenia or Damascus in 42/662. If his birth date is accurate, he can hardly have fought at al-Yarmūk or commanded conquests soon after. Perhaps his birth date was invented to explain how he could have been a Qurashī but not a Companion. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥabīb b. Maslama; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 34; II, 289; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 409–10; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 447; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 149, 157–58, 169, 222, 237; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 132 (improbably subordinated to Khālid b. al-Walīd), 161, 174, 176–77, 189, 207–8, 219, 221, 225, 228, 234–39, 241; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 309; *Tahdhīb*, II, 190–91; Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 44; Donner, *Conquests*, 150, 153, 247, 363.

500. Al-Jumaḥī. He was the son of one of the Prophet's inveterate opponents who had been slain at Badr. His wife was a daughter of Abū Sufyān. Ṣafwān became a Muslim in 8/630, visited Medina to make *hijrah*, then returned to Mecca, where he died in 36–42/656–662. As it is denied that he participated in any campaigns, his presence at al-Yarmūk, which is found only in Sayf, probably is yet another of the latter's attempts to improve on the reputations of Companions unpopular with the Shīʿah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 24; II, 535; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 388; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 187–88.

501. This same Saʿīd, the son of Khālid b. Saʿīd, had already been slain by the Romans according to another report of Sayf; see p. 82, above; cf. note 465, above.

502. ʿAmr b. Sufyān al-Sulamī, a confederate of Abū Sufyān who seems to have become a Muslim even after Ḥunayn, which makes his status as Companion doubtful (Bukhārī makes no mention of it). He figured as a commander in several campaigns, especially naval ones, including that against Cyprus in 26/647 and the very significant victory over the emperor Constans II off Lycia in 34/655. A supporter of Muʿāwiyah, he fought for the latter at Ṣiffīn, was with ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in Egypt, and settled in the *jund* of al-Urdunn. See *EI*², s.v. Abu'l-Aʿwar al-Sulamī; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 219, 222; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 123; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 540–41; Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 45; Donner, *Conquests*, 136–38, 363.

503. Only found in Sayf, this name would appear to refer to a son of ʿAbhalah al-Aswad Dhū al-Khimār b. Kaʿb al-ʿAnsī, the false prophet of Yemen who appeared in the Riddah period. However, another, perhaps more likely candidate for the father of this man is Subayʿ (or Sabʿ) Dhū al-Khimār b. al-Ḥārith b. Mālik (al-Thaqafī? al-Hilālī?), who was killed fighting against the Muslims at Ḥunayn in 8/630. See *EI*², s.v. al-Aswad b. Kaʿb al-ʿAnsī; Ṭabarī, I, 1655, 1664; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 272; II, 199; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 885, 907, 911; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 437; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 62.

504. Al-Ḍamrī. He concluded peace with the Ḍamrah for the Prophet, then later fought in Syria. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 42; II, 572; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 185. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 517, is taken from Sayf.

him, ʿAbdallāh b. Qays[505] a squadron, ʿAmr b. ʿAbasah[506] a squadron, al-Simṭ b. al-Aswad[507] a squadron, Dhū al-Kalāʿ a squadron, Muʿāwiyah b. Ḥudayj[508] another, Jundab b. ʿAmr b. Ḥumamah[509] a squadron, ʿAmr b. So-and-So[510] a squadron, and Laqīṭ b. ʿAbd al-Qays b. Bajrah, the confederate of the Banū Ẓafar from the Banū Fazārah,[511] a squadron.

On the left Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān held command of a squadron, al-Zubayr a squadron, Ḥawshab Dhū Ẓulaym[512] a squadron, Qays b. ʿAmr b. Zayd b. ʿAwf b. Madhbūl b. Māzin b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah b. Hawāzin,

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505. Apparently the famous Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī is intended. An Iraqi who governed al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah, he died at al-Kūfah or Mecca between 41/661 and 53/673. As he is not otherwise attested in Syria, he is most unlikely actually to have taken part there, so that his presence in this list is probably another of Sayf's pro-Iraqi embellishments. In Ṭabarī, I, 2523, Sayf even says that ʿUmar made him governor of the Syrian coast, which is certainly false. See EI^2, s.v. al-Ashʿarī, Abū Mūsā; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 359–60; Donner, *Conquests*, 176, 212, 215–16, 366, 417, 420–21, 433, 436, 438.

506. Al-Sulamī. He dubiously claimed to have been one of the very earliest Companions. He joined the Prophet toward the end of the latter's mission, perhaps c. 7/629 or more probably 9/631. He settled in Ḥimṣ. Sayf later claims a post for him in Syria. See Ṭabarī, I, 1166, 1168, 2523, 2526; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ğamharat*, I, 125; II, 167; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 403; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 5–6; Donner, *Conquests*, 366.

507. Al-Kindī. He also settled in Ḥimṣ, where he, or at least his son, became one of the most important men in the city. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ğamharat*, I, 236; II, 513; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 115; Donner, *Conquests*, 132, 139, 150, 363; Crone, *Slaves*, 101.

508. Al-Sakūnī al-Kindī. He settled in Egypt and supported ʿUthmān, then Muʿāwiyah, in the first civil war. From Egypt he campaigned against the Sudan and North Africa. He died in 52/672. His alleged participation at al-Qādisiyyah is probably an embellishment by Sayf, meant to show harmony and cooperation between the Companions of Syria and Iraq, as well as to refute Shīʿī criticism of prominent pro-Umayyad Syrians. See Ṭabarī, I, 2220–22; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 178, 218, 241, 247–49; Kindī, *Wulāh wa quḍāh*, 12, 15, 17–19, 21, 27–30; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 431; Donner, *Conquests*, 207, 367, 396.

509. Al-Dawsī, the confederate of the Banū Umayyah, said to have been martyred at Ajnādayn, in which case he could not have fought at al-Yarmūk. His daughter married ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ğamharat*, I, 215; II, 266; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 135; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 249; Donner, *Conquests*, 359, 363.

510. This could be anyone.

511. Mentioned only by Sayf, as indicated by Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 330; Donner, *Conquests*, 367. The Ẓafar here are a branch of the Aws of the Anṣār. See Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 152, 154, 161–62.

512. Ḥawshab b. Yazīd al-Hamdānī. He was from Ḥimṣ and fell fighting for Muʿāwiyah at Ṣiffīn in 37/657. His participation at al-Yarmūk is mentioned only by Sayf. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ğamharat*, I, 232; II, 322; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 220, 222; Donner, *Conquests*, 367.

the confederate of the Banū al-Najjār,[513] a squadron, ʿIṣmah b. ʿAbdallāh, the confederate of the Banū al-Najjār from the Banū Asad,[514] a squadron, Ḍirār b. al-Azwar a squadron, Masrūq b. So-and-So[515] a squadron, ʿUtbah b. Rabīʿah b. Bahz, the confederate of the Banū ʿIṣmah,[516] a squadron, Jāriyah b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ashjaʿī, the confederate of the Banū Salimah,[517] a squadron, and Qabāth[518] a squadron. Abū al-Dardāʾ[519] was the judge, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb[520] was the preacher [2095]

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513. One of the earliest Companions from the Anṣār, he is said to have attended the swearing of allegiance at al-ʿAqabah by Mecca before the *hijrah*, then to have fought at Badr, and is last mentioned at al-Khandaq in 5/627. All other sources give him a straight Najjārī genealogy. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 185; II, 457; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 26, 164, 447; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 458, 613, 705; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 517; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 244; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 83; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 251; Donner, *Conquests*, 367.

514. Unidentified and mentioned only by Sayf. See Donner, *Conquests*, 367.

515. Masrūq b. Ḥarmalah al-ʿAkkī. He seems to have been mentioned only by Sayf in the conquests, but other sources mention his siding with Muʿāwiyah in the first civil war. Presumably, then, Sayf's description of Masrūq's early military activities is meant to palliate his other, later role. See Ṭabarī, I, 1986–87, 1993, 1997, 2399–2400; Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 507; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 408; Donner, *Conquests*, 367.

516. Al-Bahrānī (or al-Sulamī), the confederate of the Lawdhān of the Aws. He fought at Badr and disappears from the sources after Uḥud. Only Sayf has him at al-Yarmūk and gives his allegiance as belonging to a Banū ʿIṣmah, the identity of whom cannot be discerned; probably the name results from a copyist's error in which there was confusion with the just-mentioned ʿIṣmah b. ʿAbdallāh. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 177, 328; II, 578; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 168; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 695; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 554; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 453; III, 103; Donner, *Conquests*, 367.

517. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf, as shown by Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 218; Donner, *Conquests*, 367. The Salimah were a tribe of the Anṣār. See Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 152, 154, 169.

518. Qabāth b. Ashyam (Qays) al-Laythī al-Kinānī. After fighting at Badr against the Muslims he embraced Islam about 8/630, settled in Ḥimṣ, and shed blood in defense of the caliph ʿUthmān's house in Medina in 35/656. See Ṭabarī, I, 967, 3016; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 36; II, 454; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 411; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 9; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 221–22; Donner, *Conquests*, 362 (under Qiyātha).

519. ʿUwaymir (or ʿĀmir) b. Zayd al-Khazrajī, a famous Companion who settled in Damascus, where he transmitted many traditions before his death in 31–32/651–52. No military exploits of his are recorded except by Sayf. See *EI*², s.v. Abu'l-Dardāʾ; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 188; II 165; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 391–93; Donner, *Conquests*, 131, 136, 367.

520. An outstanding opponent of Islam until the fall of Mecca, he is often portrayed in an advisory capacity thereafter until his death in 32/653 at a great age. He was the father of the caliph Muʿāwiyah. His ties with Syria before Islam are widely reported. See *EI*², s.v. Abū Sufyān; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 8; II, 536; Donner, *Conquests*, 96, 362.

(*qāṣṣ*),[521] Qabāth b. Ashyam was in charge of reconaissance, and ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd[522] was the paymaster (*ʿalā al-aqbāḍ*).

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah, and, similarly, Abū ʿUthmān: The Qurʾān reciter (*qārī*ʾ) was al-Miqdād.[523] It was from the practice followed by the Prophet of God after Badr[524] that Sūrat al-Jihād be read before a battle, and it is al-Anfāl.[525] The people did not cease doing this after that.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Abū ʿUthmān Yazīd b. Asīd al-Ghassānī — Khālid and ʿUbādah: One thousand of the Prophet's Companions participated at al-Yarmūk, among them about one hundred who had been at Badr. Abū Sufyān would go about, stopping at the squadrons to say: "God, God! You are the defenders of the Arabs and the supporters of Islam. They are the defenders of the Romans and the supporters of polytheism. O God, this is a day from among your days. O God, send down your help to your worshipers."

A man said to Khālid, "The Romans are so numerous and the Muslims so few." Khālid answered: "How few are the Romans, and how many the Muslims! Armies become numerous only with victory and few only with defeat, not by the number of men. By God, I would love it if the roan horse were cured of the pain in its hooves, and if the enemy were twice as many." His horse's hooves had become abraded during his journey.

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521. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳāṣṣ.

522. Al-Hudhalī, the confederate of the Qurashī Zuhrah. He was one of the humbler early Muslims and later appeared, after his migration to al-Kūfah, aligned with ʿAlī and opposed to ʿUthmān. The latter is said to have brought him back to Medina, abused him, and put him under a kind of house arrest until his death in 32/653. Ibn Masʿūd's fame has reverberated down through the ages owing to his crucial role in the transmission of tradition to the next generation in al-Kūfah, the crucible of the earliest Islamic writing and systematization of Islamic legal thinking. No military roles are attested for him in the conquests except in Sayf's reports. See *EI*², s.v. Ibn Masʿūd; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 58, II, 114; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 150–61, VI, 13–14; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 36–37; Donner, *Conquests*, 243, 367.

523. Al-Miqdād b. ʿAmr al-Kindī or al-Ḥaḍramī, the confederate of the Zuhrah, he also was one of the famous early Muslims of humble origin who had great popularity later. He died near Medina at seventy in 33/654. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 328; II, 408; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 161–63; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, III, 483–84; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 454–55.

524. The famous first victory of the Muslims over the Quraysh in 2/624. See *EI*², s.v. Badr.

525. The usual name of the eighth *sūrah* of the Qurʾān. Note that originally this also may have included the ninth *sūrah*, al-Tawbah, as well, for the latter is not separated from the former by a *basmalah*. See Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, II, 171; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, II, 331.

Khālid then commanded ʿIkrimah and al-Qaʿqāʿ, who were in charge of the two wings of the center, to start the battle. Al-Qaʿqāʿ recited some verses of *rajaz*, saying: [2096]

If only I could meet you in the chase,
Before the harsh violence of the numerous, oncoming army,
While you are among your reddish bay horses assembled for the chase.

ʿIkrimah said:

The light-spirited among the girls has learned
that I by noble deed offer protection.

The battle began, the troops fought, and the cavalry pursued one another. They were in the midst of that when the post arrived from Medina. The horsemen took the post rider, asking him what news there was, but he told them only that things were normal. He also told them about reinforcements. But he [actually] had come only to report the death of Abū Bakr and the appointment of Abū ʿUbaydah to command. They brought him to Khālid, and the rider informed him of the news about Abū Bakr, giving it to him in secret. He also [2097] told him what he had told the troops. Khālid said, "You have done well; therefore stay." He took the letter, putting it in his quiver. He feared that, if he displayed that, its effect would spread among the troops. Maḥmiyah b. Zunaym,[526] who was the messenger, stayed with Khālid.

Jurjah went forth until he was between the two [front] lines. He called out for Khālid to come out to him. Leaving Abū ʿUbaydah in his place, Khālid went out to Jurjah and stood right beside him between the two lines, so that the necks of their mounts touched. One of them had given a guarantee of safe-conduct to the other. Jurjah said: "O Khālid, tell me the truth and do not lie to me, for the free-born does not lie, and do not try to deceive me, for the noble-natured does not try to deceive one who is acting kindly by God. Did God send down a sword from heaven on your Prophet, giving it to him, so that you do not draw it against a people but that you defeat them?" Khālid answered, "No." Jurjah asked, "Then why are you named 'the Sword of God?'" Khālid replied:

526. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 487.

> God sent us His Prophet, who summoned us, but we all avoided him and removed ourselves far away from him. Then some of us believed him and followed him, whereas others distanced themselves from him and called him a liar. I was among those who called him a liar, distanced themselves from him, and fought him. Then God gripped our hearts and our forelocks, guiding us by him, so that we followed him. The Prophet said [to me], "You are a sword among the swords of God, which God has drawn against the polytheists," and prayed for victory for me. Thus I was named "the Sword of God" according to that, for I am the harshest of the Muslims against the polytheists.

The Roman said, "You have told me the truth."

Then Jurjah continued with him, "O Khālid, tell me what you are calling me to." Khālid answered, "To witnessing that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger, and to the acknowledgment of that which he brought from God." The Roman continued, "And he who does not accept [your religion]?" Khālid replied, "Then [they must pay] the *jizyah* payment, and we will protect them." The Roman went on, "And if he does not pay it?" Khālid said, "We give him warning of war; then we fight him."
[2098] Jurjah asked, "What is the rank of he who joins you and responds positively to you regarding this matter today?" Khālid answered, "Our rank is one regarding that which God has imposed on us, both the noble among us and the humble, both the first of us and the last." Then Jurjah asked yet again, "Does he who joins you today, O Khālid, obtain the same amount of payment and supplies as you do?" Khālid said, "Yes, and better." The Roman went on, "And how can he be your equal, when you have preceded him [in joining Islam]?" Khālid replied:

> We came into this affair and gave the oath of allegiance to our Prophet when he was [still] living among us, when the revelations (*akhbār*) of heaven would come to him and he would tell us about the books[527] and show us the verses (*āyāt*).[528] It was imperative for anyone who saw what we saw and heard what we heard to embrace Islam and swear alle-

527. That is, the heavenly books or divine revelations.
528. This can also mean "signs."

> giance. But you have not seen the wonders and proofs that we saw, nor have you heard what we heard. Therefore whoever among you enters into this affair sincerely and with [true intention] is better than we.

Jurjah said, "By God, you have indeed told me the truth and not tried to deceive me or to persuade me with a friendly tone." Khālid said: "By God, I have indeed told you the truth. I do not bear any hostility toward you or toward anyone among you. God is indeed the master of what you have asked about." Jurjah said, "You have spoken the truth to me." He turned his shield over and inclined toward Khālid, saying, "Teach me Islam." Therefore Khālid brought him to his tent and poured over him a skin of water. Then Jurjah made two prostrations (*rakʿatayn*) of worship.

The Romans attacked when Jurjah had gone over to Khālid, for they thought Jurjah was making a charge. They drove the Muslims from their positions, except for those covering them, ʿIkrimah and al-Ḥārith b. Hishām.[529] Khālid rode, and Jurjah was with him, while the Romans were in the midst of the Muslims. The troops called to each other and regrouped, and the Romans retreated to their positions. Khālid then marched with them until the two sides were striking each other with swords. Khālid and Jurjah kept smiting the enemy from before sunrise until the sun had inclined toward set- [2099]
ting. Then Jurjah was struck down, without having performed any worship in which he prostrated himself, except for the two prostrations by which he had embraced Islam. The troops performed the first worship[530] (*al-ūlā*) and the midafternoon worship by sign.[531]

The Romans weakened. Khālid rushed upon the enemy with the center until he was between their cavalry and their infantry. The battle site had a wide space for pursuit [but only] a narrow way of es-

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529. Al-Makhzūmī, the brother of Abū Jahl and first cousin of Khālid b. al-Walīd. He embraced Islam at the conquest of Mecca in 8/630 and took part in the conquest of Syria, where he died in the plague of 18/639, or else at al-Yarmūk. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 404; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 301–2; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 60, 119, 130; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 120–21; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 293–94.

530. Evidently the noon worship (*ẓuhr*).

531. This means that, with the battle going on, the men did not assemble for the formal worship in the usual way but performed their assigned worship in some unspecified symbolic way. Usually *ṣalāt al-khawf*, the "fear prayer," involves shortening the worship ritual, delaying it, or doing it in turns; but the term also may mean performing it by sign, especially from an animal's back. See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 17–19; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 277–78, 334–6; Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, 130–31.

cape.[532] When their horsemen found a way to go they went, leaving behind their infantry in their battle order. Their horses went along, speeding away with their riders into the desert. The [Muslim] troops delayed their worship so that they worshiped after the victory. When the Muslims saw the Roman cavalry heading to escape, they opened [their ranks] for them [to pass] and did not impede them. Thus they went on and scattered throughout the country.

Khālid and the Muslims rather advanced on the infantry, breaking them as if a wall had been pulled down on them. Then they were attacked in their trench. Khālid rushed against them in it, so that they headed for al-Wāqūṣah until the bound [men] and the others of them fell into it. Those who were bound who feared for themselves pulled into it those who persisted in fighting. Thus one would pull in ten who could not bear his [weight]. As often as two fell in, the rest were weaker. One hundred twenty thousand plunged into al-Wāqūṣah, eighty thousand bound and forty thousand unfettered, beside those who were killed in the battle among the cavalry and infantry. The share [in the spoils] of a cavalryman on that day was one thousand five hundred [dirhams]. Al-Fīqār and some of the Roman nobles wrapped themselves up in their mantles (*barānis*) and then sat down, saying, "We do not like seeing such a day of evil, because we have not been able to see a day of joy, and because we have not suc-
[2100] ceeded in protecting Christianity." They were struck down while wrapped in their mantles.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū ʿUthmān—Khālid and ʿUbādah: Khālid awoke the morning after that night in the tent of Theodore. When he entered the trench he took up quarters in it, while his cavalry surrounded it. The troops fought until the morning.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Abū ʿUthmān al-Ghassānī — his father:[533] On that day, ʿIkrimah b. Abī Jahl said, "[Would] I fight the Messenger of God in every place, yet flee from you today?!" Then he called out, "Who will take an oath [to fight] to the death?" Al-Ḥārith b. Hishām and Ḍirār b. al-Azwar gave him their oaths of allegiance [on that condition], along with four hundred of the Muslim notables and horsemen.[534] They fought in front of Khālid's tent until they all

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532. This echoes the words of Herakleios on p. 85, above.

533. There is no independent evidence for his existence or for that of his son.

534. Or "knights." But this word seems too loaded with medieval Christian connotations.

were disabled with wounds. Many were killed, though some recovered, including Ḍirār b. al-Azwar. ʿIkrimah was brought wounded to Khālid after the men had arisen. Khālid put ʿIkrimah's head on his thigh. [He was also brought] ʿAmr b. ʿIkrimah,[535] and he put his head on his leg. He began to wipe their faces and let water dribble into their throats while saying, "Ibn al-Ḥantamah[536] claimed that we would not die as martyrs."

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū ʿUmays[537]—al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān[538]—Abū Umāmah,[539] who participated at al-Yarmūk along with ʿUbādah b. al-Ṣāmit:[540] The women fought on that day during

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535. Alleged son of ʿIkrimah b. Abī Jahl, to whom Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 311, credits no offspring, rather specifically denying that ʿIkrimah had any children. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 145, has ʿUmar for ʿAmr b. ʿIkrimah but may have derived his report from Sayf.

536. That is, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Al-Ḥantamah bt. Hāshim b. al-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmiyyah was his mother. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 347.

537. ʿUtbah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUtbah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd al-Hudhalī, the great-grandson of Ibn Masʿūd and a Kūfan traditionist in early ʿAbbāsid times. He enjoyed a good reputation. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 366; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 97.

538. A *mawlā* of the family of Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb al-Umawī and a Damascene transmitter of tradition. According to differing reports, he was either the *mawlā* of Khālid b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah or of Juwayriyyah bt. Abī Sufyān. He participated in an attack on Constantinople and died in 112/730. His reputation as a transmitter is weak. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 449–50; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 322–24.

539. Al-Ṣudayy b. ʿAjlān al-Bāhilī, he settled in Syria and fought at Ṣiffīn, probably for Muʿāwiyah, despite a report to the contrary, for he died at Ḥimṣ. A visitor to the caliph al-Walīd I, he was known as the last of the Companions alive in Syria. His birth date was either c. 617 C.E., or 25/646, according to two variant versions, the latter of which would exclude his having been either a Companion or probably even having fought at Ṣiffīn. Although not featured in the *Sīrah*, he is reported by Abū Mikhnaf to have been sent out to fight a Roman force in al-ʿArabah during the conquest of Syria. He died in 86/705. Caskel thinks two Abū Umāmahs, a Companion and a traditionist, have been conflated. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 539; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 411–12; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 382; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 130, 177, 318; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 419–24; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 182; *Tahdhīb*, IV, 420–21; Donner, *Conquests*, 115–16.

540. Al-Khazrajī, one of the few important Anṣār in the conquest period. He was one of the *naqībs* appointed by the Prophet for Medina, fought in all the Prophet's famous battles, then migrated to Syria, where he died in Palestine at al-Ramlah or Jerusalem in 34/655 at the age of seventy-two. He governed Ḥimṣ under ʿUmar and participated in the conquest of Egypt and the Cyprus campaign of 28/649. He reportedly expressed opposition to Muʿāwiyah during the latter's governorship. This would not be surprising in view of Muʿāwiyah's hostility to the Anṣār. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 189; II, 559; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 387; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 157, 166, 180; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 156–58, 161, 166–67, 181–82; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 209–17; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 268–69; Donner, *Conquests*, 153–54, 364.

one round of fighting. Juwayriyyah bt. Abī Sufyān[541] was wounded[542]
[2101] during one round and was with her husband[543] after heavy fighting. On that day Abū Sufyān's eye was hit. Abū Ḥathmah[544] removed the arrow from his eye.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Mustanīr b. Yazīd[545]—Arṭāh b. Juhaysh:[546] Al-Ashtar[547] took part at al-Yarmūk and did not participate at al-Qādisiyyah. A man of the Romans went forth on that day and said, "Who will fight [me] in single combat?" Al-Ashtar went forth against him. They exchanged a couple of blows, whereupon he said to the Roman, "Take that, for I am the Iyādī lad!" The Roman responded: "May God increase the likes of you among my people! Why, by God, if you were not of my people, I would have supported[548] the Romans, but now I will not help them!"

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū ʿUthmān and Khālid:[549] Among those who were struck down among the three thousand killed at the Battle of al-Yarmūk were ʿIkrimah, ʿAmr b. ʿIkrimah, Salamah b.

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541. She first married al-Sāʾib b. Abī Ḥubaysh b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, who was captured at Badr, became a Muslim in 8/630 at the conquest of Mecca, and died in the reign of Muʿāwiyah. Later she married ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Umayyah al-Aṣghar b. ʿAbd Shams. No children of hers are mentioned in the sources. On these persons, see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 19; II, 499; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 239; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 125, 151; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 9, 394; Donner, *Conquests*, 365.

542. Text: *kharajat*; read: *juriḥat*, with Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXII.

543. See note 541, above.

544. Ibn Ḥudhayfah al-ʿAdawī al-Qurashī. He embraced Islam in 8/630. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 26; II, 321; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 370, 374; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, IV, 41–42; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 42.

545. Al-Nakhaʿī. He is mentioned only by Sayf and hence is regarded by ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa miʾah ṣaḥābī*, 115–16, 133, 142, 193, as a fabrication by Sayf, and this is not unlikely.

546. Unidentified but probably intended as a Nakhaʿī to serve as the link between the Nakhaʿī al-Ashtar in the report and al-Mustanīr.

547. Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakhaʿī, a Kūfan leader and strong supporter of ʿAlī, who made him governor of Egypt. He is alleged to have been poisoned when going there to take up his post in 37–38/658–59. See *EI²*, s.v. al-Ashtar; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 213; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 181, 218, 232; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 482; Donner, *Conquests*, 153, 207, 241, 364, 394.

548. Text: *la-zurt*; read: *la-āzart*, an emendation suggested in note to the Leiden ed. and followed by the Cairo ed.

549. Perhaps this bracketing of one of Abū ʿUthmān's main sources with him in the same level of the *isnād*, coupled with the omission of Khālid's constant companion in the *isnād*, ʿUbādah, means that the text is corrupt here.

Hishām,[550] ʿAmr b. Saʿīd,[551] and Abān b. Saʿīd.[552] Khālid b. Saʿīd was disabled, and it is unknown where he died afterward. [Other casualties included] Jundab b. ʿAmr b. Ḥumamah al-Dawsī, al-Ṭufayl b. ʿAmr,[553] Ḍirār b. al-Azwar, who was wounded but survived, Ṭulayb b. ʿUmayr b. Wahb of the Banū ʿAbd b. Quṣayy,[554] Habbār b. Sufyān,[555] and Hishām b. al-ʿĀṣī.[556]

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550. Al-Makhzūmī, he seems to have been a Muslim by 7/629. He usually is said to have been martyred at Ajnādayn or Marj al-Ṣuffar; only Sayf puts him and the others in this list at al-Yarmūk. Thus it would appear that Sayf has adapted this martyrs' list for his purposes, naming them as victims of al-Yarmūk, which is the first of his Syrian battles, just as the other sources put them at Ajnādayn, the first of those sources' Syrian battles. On Salamah, see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 23; II, 504; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 322, 383; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 302–3; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 135; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 147; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 68–69; Donner, *Conquests*, 357, 368.

551. Al-Umawī al-Qurashī. Despite the statement that he was one of the early Muslims, he seems only to have taken part in those battles occurring from the fall of Mecca in 8/630 onward. He is said to have governed Wādī al-Qurā for the Prophet and to have been slain at Ajnādayn, Marj al-Ṣuffar, or Fiḥl, according to sources other than Sayf. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 9; II, 183; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 174–75; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 72, 104, 118; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 40, 135; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 539; Donner, *Conquests*, 357, 360, 363.

552. Al-Umawī al-Qurashī. He embraced Islam in 7/629. Being literate, he was one of the Prophet's secretaries and is said to have governed al-Baḥrayn for him. He is also said to have been slain at Ajnādayn or Marj al-Ṣuffar or else to have died in 27/648 or 29/650. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 9; II, 101; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 174–75; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 73, 104, 118; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 99, 127, 135, 580, 582; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 147; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 13–14; Donner, *Conquests*, 357, 360, 368.

553. Actually ʿAmr b. Ṭufayl b. ʿAmr al-Dawsī, he also is stated to have been martyred at Ajnādayn. Ibn al-Kalbī also confused ʿAmr with his father, who already had perished fighting against Musaylimah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 214; II, 185, 558; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 91; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 135; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 225–26, 544; Donner, *Conquests*, 358–59, 364, 368, 373.

554. Son of the Prophet's paternal aunt Arwā, an early Muslim and a veteran of Badr. He was killed at Ajnādayn according to all the sources other than Sayf. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 18; II, 559; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 123–24; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 135; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 147; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 233–34; Donner, *Conquests*, 357, 368.

555. Al-Makhzūmī al-Qurashī. He is said to have been an early Muslim. He is reported in the other sources to have died at Ajnādayn or even Muʾtah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 22; II, 276; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 338; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 135; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 147; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, III, 609; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 559; Donner, *Conquests*, 358, 368.

556. Al-Sahmī al-Qurashī, brother of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī and one of the earliest Muslims. He is said by other sources to have died at Ajnādayn. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 25; II, 284; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 409; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 104; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 116, 135; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 126–27, 132; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 604; Donner, *Conquests*, 357, 368.

[2102] Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAmr b. Maymūn[557]—his father:[558] A man from among the Romans of the Arabs[559] met Khālid when he arrived in Syria as aid for the troops at al-Yarmūk. He said: "O Khālid, the Romans are in a numerous assemblage, two hundred thousand or more. If you think you should fall back on your rear guard, then do so." Khālid answered: "Are you going to frighten me with the Romans? By God, I would love it if the roan horse were cured of the pain in its hooves and if the enemy were twice as many."[560] Then God defeated them through him.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Mustanīr b. Yazīd — Arṭāh b. Juhaysh: Khālid said on that day: "Praise be to God, Who decreed death for Abū Bakr, although he was dearer to me than ʿUmar. And praise be to God, Who gave the authority to ʿUmar and then obliged me to love him, even though he was more distasteful to me than Abū Bakr."

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and ʿAmr b. Maymūn: Herakleios had made a pilgrimage before the rout of Khālid b. Saʿīd. The pilgrimage was to Jerusalem. While he was there word reached him that the troops were nearby him. Therefore he assembled the Romans and said: "I believe it is best if you do not fight those people but rather make peace with them. By God, that you give them half of what Syria produces and take half, [provided that] the mountains of Rome (*jibāl al-rūm*)[561] remain with you, is better for you than that they overpower you in Syria and share with

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557. Al-Jazarī. He died 145–48/762–65 in al-Kūfah or al-Raqqah. He had a good reputation as a traditionist. He is said to have had charge of the army roll of al-Jazīrah while his father was governor there for ʿUmar II. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 478; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 108–9. See note 558, below.

558. Maymūn b. Mihrān al-Jazarī, *mawlā* of the Naṣr. Born c. 40/661, he grew up in al-Kūfah but c. 81/700 moved to al-Raqqah, whence his *nisbah*, al-Jazarī, referring to al-Jazīrah. Originally called a supporter of ʿAlī like most Kūfans, his affinities were with the Qaysī tribes of al-Jazīrah, which tended to be anti-ʿAlid, so that he changed his position in favor of ʿUthmān. He served as treasurer to the Jazīran governor Muḥammad b. Marwān, then was put in charge of taxation and justice in al-Jazīrah by the caliph ʿUmar II. He was one of the most knowledgeable religious scholars in the time of the caliph Hishām, and his career most interestingly combines political and religious roles. He died in 117/735. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 477–79; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 390–92.

559. "Romans of the Arabs" refers to the Syrian Arab tribes supporting Rome.

560. This sentence is repeated on p. 94, above.

561. This can refer to hardly any other than the Taurus Mountains above Cilicia in Anatolia, which formed the border between the Muslims and the East Roman Empire for centuries. In Herakleios's mouth it is a retrospective anachronism.

you the mountains of Rome." At this, his brother snorted, his brother-in-law (*khatanuh*) also snorted, and those around him split from him. When he saw them disobeying him and talking back to him, he sent forth his brother, nominated the commanders, and directed a division toward every [enemy] division. When the Muslims had combined Herakleios ordered the Romans to make one broad, [2103] well-fortified collective camp. Thus the Romans encamped at al-Wāqūṣah, while the emperor went off to stay at Ḥimṣ. When he heard that Khālid had appeared at Suwā[562] and carried off its inhabitants and their possessions and that he had gone on to Buṣrā,[563] conquering it and permitting a virgin [to be ravished or seized], he said to those sitting with him: "Did I not tell you, 'Do not fight them'? You have no staying power with these people. Their religion is a new religion that renews their persistence, so that no one will stand up to them but he will be tested." They responded, "Fight for your religion, and do not make the people out to be cowards, but rather decide what you are responsible for." Herakleios said, "What do I seek except to increase your religion?"

When the Muslim troops encamped at al-Yarmūk the Muslims sent [a message] to the Romans, saying: "We would like to speak to your commander and meet him. Therefore allow us to come to speak to him." The Romans informed him, and he gave the Muslim delegation permission. Abū ʿUbaydah, Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān as the messenger, al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, Ḍirār b. al-Azwar, and Abū Jandal b. Suhayl[564] came to him. The emperor's brother had on that day thirty tents (*rawāq*) and thirty pavilions (*surādiq*), all of them of silk. When they reached them, they refused to enter [the tents] to see him, saying, "We do not consider silk to be lawful; therefore come forth to us." He came out to carpets that had been spread out. That reached Herakleios, who said: "Did I not tell you that this was the

562. It is identified by Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 79 n. 20, 336 n. 81, 556, 558, as Sabʿ Biyār, a waterhole in the Syrian desert 150 km. east-northeast of Damascus and 101 km. south-southwest of Palmyra, located in the Wādī Suwā, which has apparently kept the same name.

563. Still a large town in southern Syria bearing the same name, it was the ancient Bostra, seat of the Ghassānid phylarchs allied with the Romans. As such it was an important target. See *EI²*, s.v. Boṣrā.

564. Al-ʿĀmirī al-Qurashī. An early Companion of the Prophet, he died in Syria in 18/639. In some traditions he has been confused with his brother ʿAbdallāh. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 27; II, 257; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 405; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 419–20; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 322–23; IV, 34.

beginning of the humiliation? As for Syria, it is no good (*sha'm*).[565] Woe to the Romans from the ill-omened child born in Syria!" Peace was not attained between them and the Muslims. Therefore Abū 'Ubaydah and his companions went back, making their own arrangements with each other, so that it became a fight to victory.

[2104] Al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muṭarraḥ[566]—al-Qāsim—Abū Umāmah; and Abū 'Uthmān—Yazīd b. Sinān—men of the Syrians and their authorities: On the day that Khālid took over the command God defeated the Romans by nightfall. The Muslims directed themselves toward the steep abyss, taking what was in the [Romans'] camp. God slew their outstanding men, their chiefs, and their horsemen.[567] God killed Herakleios's brother, and Theodore was taken.[568] The rout reached Herakleios while he was before Ḥimṣ. He departed, putting it between him and them.[569] He appointed a commander for it, leaving him behind in it, just as he had already appointed a commander for Damascus.

When the Muslims defeated the Romans they sent out horsemen to track them down. When Abū 'Ubaydah assumed command after the rout [of the Romans][570] he announced departure, so that the Muslims left, marching until they had established their encampments at Marj al-Ṣuffar.

565. This is a dialectical variant of *shām*, the plural of *shāmah*, a beauty mark, which here is related to the connected word *shīmah*, meaning a quality. This sentence and the next make a play on the root *sh-'-m*. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.vv. *sh-'-m*, *sh-y-m*.

566. Ibn Yazīd al-Asadī al-Kinānī, a Kūfan transmitter who also was considered one of the Syrians, possibly owing to his having been one of the Syrian Qaysī immigrants to al-Kūfah under the Umayyads. He had a poor reputation. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 171–72.

567. Or "knights."

568. According to Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 38, the Theodore present at al-Yarmūk was not Herakleios's brother but another Theodore, the Sakellarios (Keeper of the Purse). This is confirmed by Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 118, who calls him the Sakellarios, a eunuch of Herakleios. See note 882, below.

569. Either the defeated Roman remnants or the Muslims.

570. That Abū 'Ubaydah would have assumed command so soon after a victory while the victorious Khālid was still present seems unlikely. Far more probably Abū 'Ubaydah was in command from the very beginning, but Sayf or the tradition behind him, at pains to show the superiority of the Iraqis over the Syrians, has concealed his true role in order to exaggerate the role of Khālid. In historical traditions other than those of Sayf, Abū 'Ubaydah, not Khālid, was the commander at al-Yarmūk. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 118; Donner, *Conquests*, 361–62.

Abū Umāmah: Having two horsemen with me, I was sent out to reconnoiter from Marj al-Ṣuffar until I entered al-Ghūṭah.[571] I pried around in it between its houses and its trees. One of my two companions said, "You have reached to where you were commanded. Therefore go back, and do not cause us to perish." I responded, "Stay in your place until morning comes to you or until I come to you." Then I went along until I wended my way to the city gate. There was not a soul to be seen on the earth. I removed my mare's bridle, hung her nosebag on her, and leaned on my spear. Then I put my head down and did not perceive [anything] until [I heard] the key being moved in the gate to open it. I arose and performed the morning worship;[572] [2105]
then I mounted my horse and attacked it.[573] I stabbed the gatekeeper, killing him.[574] Then I turned away, going back. They came out to search for me but then left me alone out of fear that I would have an ambush [ready]. I found my way to my nearer companion, whom I had commanded to stay. When they saw him they said, "This is an ambush. He has reached his ambush." Thus they went away. My companion and I traveled until we found our way to our other companion. Then we went on until we came to the Muslims.

Abū ʿUbaydah had resolved not to depart until ʿUmar's advice and command came to him. When it came to him the Muslims departed, [traveling] until they encamped before Damascus. Abū ʿUbaydah left Bashīr b. Kaʿb b. Ubayy al-Ḥimyarī[575] behind at al-Yarmūk with a cavalry force.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd[576]—Abū Saʿīd[577]—

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571. The cultivated area around Damascus. See *EI²*, s.vv. Ghūṭa, Dimashḳ.

572. *Ṣalāt al-fajr*, which is between first light and sunrise.

573. Or "him," apparently referring either to the gate or the gatekeeper, who has not yet been mentioned.

574. This indicates that Abū Umāmah was trying to get out of the city at the time to make the rendezvous with his impatient companion. Down to the thirteenth–fourteenth/nineteenth–twentieth centuries, the gates of Near Eastern cities usually were closed from dusk to dawn.

575. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf, according to Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 159.

576. The grandson of Abū Saʿīd Kaysān al-Maqburī and not ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd b. Thābit b. al-Jidhʿ al-Anṣārī, as is suggested by the index of the Leiden edition, p. 324. See note 577, below.

577. Kaysān al-Maqburī, *mawlā* of Umm Sharīk al-Laythiyyah and a Medinan transmitter of traditions, who died in 100/719 or, according to other reports, between 123/741 and 126/744. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, III, 168; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 38; VIII, 453–54, who shows that he transmitted to his grandson, as in this *isnād*.

Qabāth: I was in the delegation about the victory of al-Yarmūk. We had gained wealth and much spoil. The guide brought us to the waterhole of a man whom I had followed in the Jāhiliyyah, when I came of age and became aware of myself, to learn from him. When I was shown who he was I came to him and told him [my purpose]. He said, "You have done right." He turned out to be one of the daring brigands of the Arabs. Every day he would eat the rump of a slaughtered camel with its condiment and an amount equal to that [of meat] other than the rump. Nothing would be left over from it, except enough to nourish me. He would raid the tribe (*ḥayy*) and leave me nearby, saying,
[2106] "If a *rajaz* poet comes by reciting *rajaz* saying such-and-such, I am that [man]." He became crippled while he was with me. I stayed in that condition until he gave me a portion of wealth, which I brought to my family. It was the first property I obtained. Then I became the leader of my people and reached the level of the Arabs' [leading] men.

When we were brought by that waterhole I recognized it and asked about his house, but they did not know it, though they said he was alive. [His] sons whom he had begotten after me were brought to me. After I told them my story, they said, "Come to us tomorrow morning, for he is as close as possible to what you would like in the morning."[578] I came to them in the morning and was ushered in to him. He was brought forth from his bedchamber and seated for me. I did not cease jogging his memory until he remembered. He listened attentively and began to delight in the conversation, asking me to feed him more of it, so that our sitting drew long and we became burdensome to their boys. Therefore they frightened him with certain things he was frightened of, so that he would enter his bedchamber. That suited his mind. He said, "It used to be that I could not be frightened." I said, "Of course." I gave him [something] and left no one from his family without bestowing on him what was fitting. Then I departed.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū Saʿīd al-Maqburī: Marwān b. al-Ḥakam[579] said to Qabāth, "Are you older or [was] God's Messen-

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578. That is, "he is sharper in the morning."

579. The founder of the Marwānid branch of the Umayyads, he reigned briefly as caliph 65–66/684–85. Because of later opposition to Marwānid rule, he often is made the scapegoat of vitriolic attacks in the historical tradition; especially he is blamed for having stirred up the first civil war, in which he is made to have played an evil role in his position as secretary to his first cousin, the caliph ʿUthmān. See *EI²*, s.v. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.

ger?" Qabāth answered, "God's Messenger is greater, but I am older." Marwān said, "What is your earliest memory?" Qabāth replied, "The dung of the elephant[580] when it was a year old." Marwān continued, "What is the strangest thing that you have seen?" Qabāth answered: "A man from the Quḍā'ah. When I came of age and became aware of myself I sought a man whom I could be with and learn from. I was directed to him." Then he told this story. [2107]

Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Muḥammad b. Isḥāq — Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān: When the troops set out Abū Bakr went forth with Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān to give him advice. Abū Bakr walked while Yazīd rode. When he had completed his admonition, he said: "Farewell. I leave you in God's keeping." Then he turned back, while Yazīd went on, taking the Tabūk road. Then Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah followed him, then Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ in charge of a division[581] as a reinforcement for the two of them, all following that road. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī went forth until he encamped at Ghamr al-'Arabāt.[582] The Romans meanwhile camped at Thaniyyat Jilliq in uppermost Palestine with seventy thousand [men] under Theodore, Herakleios's full brother. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī wrote to Abū Bakr to inform him about the matter of the Romans and to ask him for reinforcements. Also Khālid b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣī set forth. He was seeking bounty on a rainy day at Marj al-Ṣuffar in the land of Syria when the louts (*a'lāj*) of the Romans gathered against him, killing him. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī had already written to Abū Bakr to inform him about the matter of the Romans and seek reinforcements.

Abū Ja'far — Abū Zayd — 'Alī b. Muḥammad, according to the *isnād* that I have mentioned before: Just days after Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān had gone forth heading for Syria, Abū Bakr sent out Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥa-

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580. This refers to the elephant that accompanied Abrahah on his attempt to capture Mecca, an event mentioned in the 105th *sūrah* of the Qur'ān. Modern scholars believe that this campaign must have taken place c. 555 C.E. or earlier, though Muslim tradition holds that it coincided with the year of the Prophet's birth, c. 571 C.E. See *EI²*, s.v. al-Fīl.

581. Lit., "a fourth." The term is probably used here because there were four divisional commanders, hence four divisions, that prefigure the later four divisional districts of Syria under the early Umayyads, the *junds* of Filasṭīn, al-Urdunn, Damascus, and Ḥimṣ.

582. A place in the Wādī 'Arabah two marches north of Aylah, which lay just northwest of the modern port of al-'Aqabah in Jordan. See *EI²*, s.v. 'Araba; Le Strange. *Palestine*, 441; Donner, *Conquests*, 115–16. Thus 'Amr's line of march lay on the "low road," following the coast to Aylah, then the bottom of 'Arabah until he ascended into the Palestinian Naqab (Negev) to the west.

[2108] sanah. (He is Shuraḥbīl b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muṭāʿ b. ʿAmr from the Kindah.[583] It is also said [he was] from the Azd.[584]) He set out with seven thousand; then Abū ʿUbaydah [set out] with seven thousand. Yazīd stopped in al-Balqā', Shuraḥbīl stopped in al-Urdunn, or, it is said, Buṣrā, and Abū ʿUbaydah camped at al-Jābiyah.[585] Then Abū Bakr reinforced them with ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī, who encamped at Ghamr al-ʿArabāt. At that time the people desired to wage *jihād*. They would come to Medina, and Abū Bakr would direct them to Syria. Among them were those who would go with Abū ʿUbaydah, and among them were those who would go with Yazīd. Every group went with whom it liked.

[The same authorities]: The first peace agreement that happened in Syria was the peace agreement of Ma'āb,[586] which is a tribal meeting place, not a city. Abū ʿUbaydah passed by them on his way to Syria. It is a village of al-Balqā'. They fought him but then sought peace, and he made a peace agreement with them. The Romans massed together in al-ʿArabah in the land of Palestine. Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān sent against them Abū Umāmah al-Bāhilī, who routed that massed army.

[The same authorities]: The first warfare that occurred in Syria after the expedition of Usāmah was in al-ʿArabah; then they went to al-Dāthinah[587]—it is also said al-Dāthin. Abū Umāmah al-Bāhilī defeated the enemy, killing a *patrikios* among them. Then occurred

583. A great Yemenī tribe later prominent in Syria as well as Egypt and al-Kūfah. See *EI²*, s.v. Kinda; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 47–53, 371–72.

584. Another great Yemenī tribal grouping having two main branches: the Azd al-Sarāh located in ʿAsīr and the Azd ʿUmān of ʿUmān, the latter apparently being added to the former in the Islamic period. See *EI²*, s. v. Azd; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 41–44, 217.

585. An important place in the early Islamic history of Syria, Jābiyah lies some 80 km. south of Damascus, just north of Nawā. See *EI²*, s.v. Djābiya; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 460–61; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 91–92.

586. This is the ancient town of Rabbath Moab, now al-Rabbah, a dozen kilometers north of al-Karak. Interestingly, the very early Armenian writer Pseudo-Sebeos, *History*, 123–24, states that the Arabs began their invasion of Syria from "Moabite Rabbath, at the borders of Ruben's [land]." This accords not only with the tradition cited here but also with the tradition asserting that the first expedition to Syria, which was sent by the Prophet himself, reached Mu'tah, a place about a dozen kilometers south of al-Karak. See Le Strange, *Palestine*, 494–95, 509–10; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 134; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 31; Donner, *Conquests*, 116, 314 n. 188.

587. A village near Gaza. Variant accounts give its name as al-Dabiyyah or al-Dābiyah, the latter being the same as al-Dāthinah, with different pointing of the Arabic letters. Possibly it was ancient Anthedon. See Le Strange, *Palestine*, 437; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 130; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 417; Donner, *Conquests*, 115.

Marj al-Ṣuffar, in which Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣī was martyred. Adrunjār[588] came against them with four thousand [troops] while they were off guard, so that Khālid and a number of the Muslims were martyred.

Abū Jaʿfar: It has also been said that the one killed in this battle was a son of Khālid b. Saʿīd and that Khālid retreated when his son was killed, so that Abū Bakr sent Khālid b. al-Walīd as overall commander over the commanders who were in Syria; these he joined to [2109] his forces. Khālid departed from al-Ḥīrah in Rabīʿ al-Ākhir of the year 13 (4 June–2 July 634) with eight hundred [men].[589] It is also said five hundred. He left behind in charge of his province al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah. The enemy met him at Ṣandawdāʾ,[590] but he conquered them and left Ibn Ḥarām al-Anṣārī[591] behind there. He also met an assemblage at al-Muṣayyakh and al-Ḥuṣayd led by Rabīʿah b. Bujayr al-Taghlibī, defeated them, and took captives and spoils. He went on, going into the desert from Qurāqir[592] to Suwā. He raided the people of Suwā, taking their possessions and slaying Ḥurqūṣ b. al-Nuʿmān al-Bahrānī.[593] Then he came to Arak,[594] whose people made a

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588. Greek *droungários*, the title of a high-ranking military officer, who might command a division or a fleet. See Ostrogorsky, *History*, 251. It is first mentioned by Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 68, referring to the year 79–80/698–99. Probably better read as *al-Durunjār*.

589. The itinerary for Khālid's march from Iraq to Syria suggested by this report follows a northern route not far from the Euphrates, then descending on Damascus via Palmyra. It thus contrasts with the route given by Sayf on p. 113, below, which passed through Dūmat al-Jandal far to the south. The northern route suggested here is favored by Caetani, *Annali*, II, 1192–1236, and opposed by Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 553–73. Donner, *Conquests*, 119–27, does not favor one route over the other. The route given in Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 135–36, closely follows that presented here.

590. Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 34 n. 23, identifies it as the shrine of al-Mushayhid about 5 km. east of the present Iraqi city of al-Ramādī, on the right bank of the Euphrates. See also Donner, *Conquests*, 121, 180, 185; Morony, *Iraq*, 221, 224 n. 55.

591. Saʿd b. ʿAmr b. Ḥarām al-Khazrajī, said to have fought at Uḥud and much later to have fought for ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 284–85; 32; Donner, *Conquests*, 422 (under Saʿīd). On his family's connection with Ṣandawdāʾ, see Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 300.

592. It is identified by Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 555, as Qulbān Qirājir, a waterhole on the eastern border of the Wādī Sirḥān some 37 km. east-southeast of Kāf in al-Qurayyāt district of northernmost Saudi Arabia and 500 km. southwest of ʿAyn al-Tamr. This is considered plausible by Donner, *Conquests*, 123. However, Qurāqir could also be an unknown place whose name is now lost.

593. He is called al-Namarī on p. 64, above.

594. A town in the Syrian Desert 25 km. east-northeast of Tadmur (Palmyra); it is now called Rakah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 153; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 395; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 565.

peace agreement with him. He also came to Tadmur,[595] whose people had fortified themselves but then made a peace agreement with him. Then he came to al-Qaryatayn,[596] where he fought the inhabitants, conquered them, and took spoils. He also came to Ḥuwwārīn,[597] fought the inhabitants, defeated them, killed, and took captives. He came to Quṣam,[598] where the Banū Mashjaʿah[599] of the Quḍāʿah made a peace agreement with him. He came to Marj Rāhiṭ[600] and raided the Ghassān on the day of their Easter (24 April 634),[601] slaying and taking captives. He sent Busr b. Abī Arṭāh[602] and Ḥabīb b. Maslamah against al-Ghūṭah. They came to a church, where they took the men and the women captive and drove the children to Khālid.

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595. The ancient Palmyra (biblical Tadmor), it still bears the same Arabic name of Tadmur and lies 140 km. east of Ḥimṣ. It used to belong to the Kalb. See *EI*¹, s.v. Palmyra; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 540–42. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 140–41, details Khālid's attack.

596. A town in the Syrian desert about halfway between Tadmur and Damascus; it still has the same name. See Le Strange, *Palestine*, 79, 481.

597. It is a settlement in the Jabal Sanīr and in any case near al-Qaryatayn, with which it is confused in one report. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 315–16; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 456, 481; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 564.

598. Identified by Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 563, with the Roman station of Casama, which he further identifies with Khān al-Manqūrah, some 31 km. south-southeast of al-Qaryatayn and 95 km. east-northeast from Damascus.

599. A minor branch of the Quḍāʿah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 279 (under Masǧaʿa b. at-Taim), II, 403.

600. A plain about 25 km. east-northeast of Damascus near ʿAdhrāʾ. It is considered part of al-Ghūṭah. See *EI*², s.v. Mardj Rāhiṭ; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 21–22; V, 101; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 69, 503–4; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 558, 560.

601. The Islamic date for this Easter is 19 Ṣafar 13, which does not accord with the other dates given in the text. On this, see Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 563.

602. Text: Arṭāh; read: Abī Arṭāh. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXII–DCXIII. He is Busr b. Abī Arṭāh al-ʿĀmirī al-Qurashī. A young Companion of the Prophet, he first appeared—apart from this tradition—in the reinforcements sent by the caliph ʿUmar from Medina to assist in the conquest of Egypt in 20/641. Later he settled in Damascus, supported Muʿāwiyah against ʿAlī in the first civil war, fighting at Ṣiffīn, after which he was sent to track down ʿAlī's followers in the Ḥijāz and Yemen, where he gained an evil reputation for the executions he perpetrated and methods he followed. He often campaigned against the Romans and became governor of al-Baṣrah. He died after 52/672, when he last campaigned. See *EI*², s.v. Busr; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 28; II, 230; Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 44, 412, 424, 426–29, 459–60, 462, 503–4, 507; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 409; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 439; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 136, 222, 227, 230, 238, 259, 382; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 154–63; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb*, III, 223–28; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 147–48; Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 44, 48, 52.

[Abū Ja'far]:[603] The letter of Abū Bakr came to Khālid at al-Ḥīrah when he had just returned from his pilgrimage. It said, [2110]

> Journey until you reach the Muslim armies at al-Yarmūk, for they are distressed and causing distress. Do not by any means return to the like of what you have done, for your worry will not, with God's help, worry the masses of the troops, and your method of removing the people's distress will never remove it. May your intentions and your favored position gladden you, Abū Sulaymān! Therefore complete [your work], so that God may make [it] complete for you. Do not by any means let self-admiration enter you, so that you lose and fail. See that you do not rely upon any work [of yours], for God controls the bestowal of favor, and He is the Owner of reward.

Al-Sarī — Shu'ayb — Sayf — 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Aṭā' al-Bakkā'ī — al-Muqaṭṭi' b. al-Haytham[604] al-Bakkā'ī — his father: The veterans of the battles of the conquest among the people of al-Kūfah would make threats at Mu'āwiyah upon [hearing] certain things that reached them. They would say: "What does Mu'āwiyah want? We are the men of Dhāt al-Salāsil!" They would name what happened between it and [the battle at] al-Firāḍ without mentioning what followed, out of contempt for what came after in comparison to what occurred before.

Al-Sarī — Shu'ayb — Sayf — 'Amr b. Muḥammad — Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm[605] — Ẓafar b. Dahī; Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh — Abū 'Uthmān; Ṭalḥah — al-Mughīrah; and al-Muhallab b. 'Uqbah — 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Siyāh al-Aḥmarī: Abū Bakr had sent Khālid b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣī to Syria at the time he sent Khālid b. al-Walīd to Iraq. He enjoined on him the like of what he had enjoined on Khālid [b. al-Walīd]. Khālid b. Sa'īd went along until he descended on Syria, but

603. This paragraph and the one following it are an almost exact repetition of text found on pp. 69–70, above.

604. Text: *'Aṭā' 'an al-Haytham*; read: *'Aṭā' al-Bakkā'ī 'an al-Muqaṭṭi' b. al-Haytham*, as in the *isnād* on p. 69, above.

605. None of the fifteen Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīms mentioned in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 213–23, seems to fit this *isnād* chronologically; therefore the Isḥāq here must be considered an unknown person mentioned only by Sayf.

he did not make an assault. [Rather], he summoned [more] people,
[2111] becoming mighty, so that the Romans feared him and recoiled from him. He did not persevere in [following] Abū Bakr's command but entered the land in small detachments, although the Romans pretended to fall back before him, until they drew him to al-Ṣuffar. Then they turned on him after he had come to feel safe. They found his son Saʿīd b. Khālid seeking bounty and slew him, him and those with him. When the news came to Khālid he set out in flight until he came to the open country (*barr*)[606] and stopped at some place. The Romans gathered at al-Yarmūk and encamped there. They said, "By God, we will indeed keep Abū Bakr too busy with himself to come into our land with his horses." Khālid b. Saʿīd wrote to Abū Bakr about what had happened. At this, Abū Bakr wrote to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī, who was in the land of the Quḍāʿah, [commanding him] to go to al-Yarmūk, and he did. He also sent Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ and Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, ordering each of them to raid and said, "Do not penetrate to the extent that any of your enemy are behind you." Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah came to Abū Bakr from one of the victories of Khālid. Abū Bakr dispatched him toward Syria with a division. He also nominated each man of the commanders of the divisions to a district in Syria.

They came together to al-Yarmūk. When the Romans saw their coming together, they regretted what had been manifested by them[607] and forgot with what they had been threatening Abū Bakr. They were concerned, their concern being themselves. They[608] distressed them, and they[609] were distressed by them. Then they encamped at al-Wāqūṣah. Abū Bakr said, "By God, I will certainly make the Romans forget the whisperings of the devil about Khālid b. al-Walīd." Thus, he wrote to him this letter—which is above this report—and commanded him to appoint al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah
[2112] as his deputy over Iraq with half of the troops. "And if God conquers Syria for the Muslims, return to your province in Iraq." Khālid sent the fifths [of the spoils to Medina], except what had been given out

606. It would seem that "desert" is implied by the word *barr* in such reports.
607. That is, their braggadocio.
608. Perhaps meaning the Muslims.
609. Perhaps meaning the Romans. The text is obscure and possibly corrupt. See notes to Leiden text.

to the troops, with ʿUmayr b. Saʿd al-Anṣārī,[610] and [informed the caliph] about his setting out for Syria. Khālid summoned the guides and departed from al-Ḥīrah going to Dūmah. Then he struck into the open country to Qurāqir.

Then he said,[611] "How is there a way for me by which I will emerge behind the Roman forces, for if I face them directly, they will block me from relieving the Muslims?" All of the guides said, "We know only a route that does not bear armies, which the lone rider takes. Do not by any means expose the Muslims." Khālid nonetheless resolved on it, but no one responded to him in that except for Rāfiʿ b. ʿAmīrah,[612] [who did so] in extreme fear. Therefore Khālid stood up in their midst to say, "Do not by any means let your ways be diverse, nor your certainty weakened! Know that aid comes according to the level of the intention, and reward according to the level of the account.[613] The Muslim ought not to care about something he falls into, considering God's aid to him." They said, "You are a man for whom God has brought together the good; it is your affair." Thus they complied with his wishes, resolving on, being satisfied with, and desiring the like of what Khālid desired. He commanded them to take enough water to drink (*li-al-shafah*)[614] for five [nights' journey].[615] He also gave orders to the commander of each cavalry troop

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610. Of the ʿAmr b. ʿAwf b. Mālik b. al-Aws, he was one of the very few Anṣār to play a major role in the conquests, campaigning against the Romans in al-Jazīrah, Cilicia, and Cyprus. He also governed Ḥimṣ for ʿUmar and al-Jazīrah for ʿUthmān. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 178; II, 569; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 402; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 158; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 161, 182, 185, 194, 209–12, 216, 219; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 281–82; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 32.

611. Here begins the detailed story cited by al-Ṭabarī of Khālid's famous march across the desert. Considerable effort has gone into trying to show which route he took. See Caetani, *Annali*, II, 1192–1236; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 553–73; Donner, *Conquests*, 120–27. See also pp. 109–10, above.

612. Ibn Abī Rāfiʿ al-Ṭāʾī, he is said to originally have been a Christian. He embraced Islam in 8/629. Later he was a tribal leader of the Sinbis branch of the Ṭayyiʾ in al-Kūfah. He died 23/644. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 256; II, 483; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 624–25; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 131; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 136–38; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 497–98; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 497–98; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 89.

613. Ar. *ḥisbah*. A variant reading has *ḥasanah*, meaning "good deed," so that reward would be "according to the level of the good deed." In meaning this parallels the famous canonical *ḥadīth* in Bukhārī, I, 2.

614. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda, et Emendanda*, CCCXIII–CCCXIV.

615. Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 556, 569–70, explains that this means six stages, not five, because they would be camping in the desert five nights.

as to the amount of water to give to the horses. Each leader made thirsty enough of the older female camels to suffice him, then gave them to drink once and yet again. Then they made the camels prick up their ears [from thirst],[616] covered [their mouths] with bags (*kama'ūhā*),[617] and left their backs free [of loads].[618] Then they rode from Qurāqir, going into the desert to Suwā, which is on the other side of
[2113] it in Syria. When they had traveled for a day, they pressed the water out of the stomachs of ten of those camels for every group of horses, mixing what was in their stomachs with whatever milk there was. Then they gave the horses to drink and themselves took a swallow for a drink. They did that for four days.

Al-Sarī — Shu'ayb — Sayf — 'Ubaydallāh b. Muḥaffiz b. Tha'labah[619] — his informant from the Bakr b. Wā'il: Muḥriz b. Ḥarīsh al-Muḥāribī[620] told Khālid, "Put the morning star on your right eyebrow, then head for it; you will get to Suwā." He was the best guide among them.

Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī — Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah, agreeing with them: When he reached Suwā and feared that the heat of the sun would overcome them, Khālid called out to Rāfi', "What [news] do you have?" He answered, "Good. You have attained a copious source, for you are upon water." He urged them on, though he was perplexed [and] bleary eyed. He continued, "O people, look for two eminences that look like a pair of female breasts, then come to them." They said, "Two eminences." He went up on them both and said, "Strike to the right and to the left for a box-thorn like the seat of a man."[621] They found its root and said, "A root, but we do not see any tree." He said, "Dig wherever you will." They stirred up the dust [to find] small quantities of water and swampy ground with sweet

616. See Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 570. On p. 554, however, he suggests that their ears were caused to tremble from thirst.

617. Or, "tied up their mouths." See Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 554, 557, 570.

618. See Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 570, who also suggests that this implies that the camels' urethras were bound up so they could not urinate.

619. This man seems to be quoted only by Sayf. However, his alleged father is the well-attested Kūfan who carried al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī's head to Damascus. See note 1001, below.

620. From Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 486, it appears that this is his only historical mention. The notice, which contains the same report as here, comes from Abū Ismā'īl Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Azdī's *Futūḥ al-Sha'm*, and this probably derives ultimately from Sayf.

621. Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 571, suggests that this means "a low, round shrub."

water under the sand. Rāfiʿ said, "O Commander, by God, I have not come to this waterhole for thirty years. I only came to it once before, when I was a boy, with my father." Thus they prepared themselves and then attacked, the enemy not believing that any army could cross [the desert] to them. [2114]

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAmr b. Muḥammad — Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm — Ẓafar b. Dahī: Khālid led us to attack from Suwā to Muṣayyakh Bahrā' in al-Quṣwānā,[622] one of the waterholes. We took al-Muṣayyakh and the Namir by morning when they were unawares, and when a company were drinking in the face of the morning, while their cupbearer was singing to them, saying,

Should you two not rouse me in the morning before the army of Abū
Bakr?

Then his head was cut off and his blood was mixed with his wine.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAmr b. Muḥammad, by his *isnād* that has already been mentioned: When the Ghassān heard of Khālid's going out against Suwā and its destruction, and his raid on Muṣayyakh Bahrāʿ and its destruction, they assembled at Marj Rāhiṭ. [Word of] that reached Khālid, who had already left the Roman frontier fortresses and their armies on the border of Iraq behind him, so that he now lay between them[623] and the Yarmūk. He directed himself toward them,[624] going forth from Suwā after he had returned to it with the captives of the Bahrā'. He stopped at al-Rummānatayn,[625] which were two markers of the road, then he stopped at al-Kathab,[626] until he came to Damascus, then Marj al-Ṣuffar. On it, he met the Ghassān under al-Ḥārith b. al-Ayham.[627] He overthrew

622. Voweling uncertain. Possibly the same as the Quṣwān mentioned in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 366, as it is attributed to the Bakrī Taym or the Saʿd Tamīm. This place is identified by Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 311, as the modern region of al-Qāsī due west of Hīt in the desert on the south side of the Ḥawrān valley. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 138, gives al-Kawāthil as the name at this place in Khālid's itinerary.

623. That is, the Roman forces in Iraq.

624. That is, the Ghassān at Marj Rāhiṭ.

625. According to Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 572, this name denotes two low, natural domes east of Damascus that now are unidentifiable.

626. Emended by Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 572, to *kathīb*, it denotes a low, sandy mound east of Damascus, now unidentifiable.

627. This appears to be the only mention of such a person. It could either be a mistake for Jabalah b. al-Ayham, as is likely, or else an otherwise unknown brother of Jabalah along the lines of the brothers Sayf provides for other famous men. On Jabalah, see note 326.

their camp and their families and stayed on the plain for some days. He sent Abū Bakr the fifths [of the spoils] with Bilāl b. al-
[2115] Ḥārith al-Muzanī.[628] Then he went out from the plain until he came to the canal of Buṣrā, which was the first city in Syria that was conquered by Khālid and those with him of the troops of Iraq. After that, he set forth from it and came to the Muslims at al-Wāqūṣah. He was in command of nine thousand when he fought the enemy there.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and al-Muhallab: When Khālid returned from his pilgrimage, the letter of Abū Bakr came to him, [commanding him] to go forth with half of the troops and to leave al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah in charge of the remaining half and saying, "Do not by any means take brave [men] unless you also leave behind brave [men] for him too. When God grants you victory, bring them back to Iraq, and yourself with them, for then you will be governing your province." Khālid had the Companions of God's Messenger brought to his presence and appropriated them for himself, not al-Muthannā. He rather left to al-Muthannā numbers of men from among those he was satisfied with (*ahl al-qanāʿah*) who were not Companions. Then he looked at those who remained, pulling out those who had come to the Prophet in delegations or otherwise, and left to al-Muthannā their numbers from the people with whom he was satisfied. Then he divided the army into two halves.

Al-Muthannā said, "By God, I will not keep to other than the execution of Abū Bakr's command in its totality regarding having in [my] company half of the Companions, or a part of the half. By God, I do not hope for victory except by them. Wherefore then do you denude me of them?" When Khālid saw that, after having held back from him, he provided al-Muthannā with replacements from among the Companions until he was satisfied. Among those whom he gave him as replacements from among them were Furāt b. Ḥayyān al-ʿIjlī,

628. An important tribal leader, he was a Muslim by 6/628, was assigned land by the Prophet near Medina, commanded the Muzaynah regiment at the conquest of Mecca in 8/630, took part at al-Qādisiyyah, and later moved to al-Baṣrah, before dying in 60/680 at eighty years of age. See Ṭabarī, I, 2574–75; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 226; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 276, 425–26, 571, 799–800, 820, 896, 1014, 1029; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 272, 291, 339; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 273; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 13–14; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 182; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 164.

Bashīr b. al-Khaṣāṣiyyah and al-Ḥārith b. Ḥassān[629] the two Dhuhlīs, Maʿbad b. Umm Maʿbad al-Aslamī,[630] ʿAbdallāh b. Abī [2116]
Awfā al-Aslamī,[631] al-Ḥārith b. Bilāl al-Muzanī, and ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr al-Tamīmī, so that, when al-Muthannā was satisfied and had taken what he needed, Khālid withdrew and went off toward his destination. Al-Muthannā accompanied him as far as Qurāqir, then returned to al-Ḥīrah in al-Muḥarram [13] (7 March–5 April 634).

Al-Muthannā remained in his [seat of] authority, putting his brother in the outpost he had been in on al-Sīb. In place of Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb, [he put] ʿUtaybah b. al-Nahhās, in place of Ḍirār b. al-Azwar [he put] Masʿūd,[632] his other brother, and he filled the places of all those commanders who had departed with men like them from the people of sufficiency (*ahl al-ghanāʾ*). He also appointed Madhūr b. ʿAdī to one of those positions.

Meanwhile, the Persians found order, one year after Khālid had come to al-Ḥīrah, a little after Khālid's departure—that was in the year 13—under Shahrbarāz b. Ardashīr b. Shahriyār,[633] one of the relatives of Kisrā, then of Sābūr.[634] He sent against al-Muthannā a

629. He probably became a Muslim in 9/631. Subsequently, he participated in the wars of conquest. However, all transmissions showing him in the conquests are through Sayf, including his part in the imaginary conquest of Khurāsān that Sayf attributed to the year 17/638. In 36/656 he was the commander of the Kūfan Dhuhl at the Battle of the Camel, where he fell. See Ṭabarī, I, 2231, 2474, 2477, 2682, 3202–3; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 154; II, 307; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 277.

630. Maʿbad b. Aktam al-Khuzāʿī, he was ʿAlī's messenger to Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī in al-Kūfah at the beginning of 36/656. See Ṭabarī, I, 1458–59, 3089; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 197; II, 204 (under ʿĀtikah bt. Khālid), 380; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 338–40, 388–89; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 102, 210; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 60; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 39; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 438.

631. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlqamah al-Khuzāʿī, he embraced Islam by 6/628 and later migrated to al-Kūfah, where he was the last Companion of the Prophet alive. He is said to have died as late as 80–87/699–706. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 201; II, 106; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 21; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 382; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, II, 264–65; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 279–80.

632. Unattested except in the transmissions of Sayf in this volume.

633. The nomenclature of this alleged Persian shows Sayf's method in conflating names of famous persons to produce new persons with which to adorn his stories. Shahrbarāz is the general of Khusraw II who was not part of the royal house. There is no precedent for his unusual name. See Ṭabarī, I, 1061–64; Christensen, *L'Iran*, 492. Ardashīr is borrowed from the short-lived Ardashīr III b. Shīrūyah, who was overthrown and killed by Shahrbarāz. See Ṭabarī, I, 1061–62, and above p. 11 and note 74. Shahriyār was the father of Yazdigird III who himself never held the throne. See below, p. 222 and note 1054. No such collocation of royal Persian names exists outside of Sayf's transmissions.

634. This appears to refer to the earlier Persian King Shāpūr II (309–79 C.E.).

huge army commanded by Hurmuz Jādhūyah[635] containing ten thousand men and an elephant. The forward posts wrote to al-Muthannā about his approach. Al-Muthannā left al-Ḥīrah [heading] toward him, joining the forward garrisons to himself. He put in charge of his two wings al-Muʿannā and Masʿūd, the two sons of
[2117] Ḥārithah. He waited for Hurmuz at Bābil.[636] Hurmuz Jādhūyah approached, his two flanks being commanded by al-Karukbadh[637] and al-Kharukbadh.[638] He wrote to al-Muthannā, "From Shahrbarāz to al-Muthannā. I have sent against you an army consisting of the rabble of the Persians who are nothing but keepers of chickens and swine. I am not going to fight you except with them." Al-Muthannā answered him:

> From al-Muthannā to Shahrbarāz. You are one of two men: either an oppressor, which would be worse for you and better for us, or else a liar, and the greatest of liars in punishment and shame both with God and with people are kings. But what sensible opinion shows me is that you have been forced to use only the rabble; therefore, praise be to God who has thrown back your intrigue on the keepers of chickens and swine.

The Persians were taken aback by his letter. They said, "Shahrbarāz is only weakened by the ill omen of his place of birth and the baseness of his upbringing," for he used to live in Maysān,[639] and certain countries are a disgrace to those who inhabit them. They told him, "You have encouraged our enemy against us by what you wrote to them. When you write to anyone, consult [first]."

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635. See Hurmuz and Bahman Jādhūyah above, pp. 9–13, 16–19, 22–23, 37, 43–44, 51. This new collocation would appear to be either an accidental or intentional juxtaposition of the aforementioned names.

636. The site of ancient Babylon, it lies east of the Euphrates just north of the present al-Ḥillah. See *EI^2*, s.v. Bābil; Le Strange, *Lands*, 71–72.

637. Text: al-Kawkabad: read: al-Karukbadh, as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIII.

638. Text: al-Khūkabad; read: al-Kharukbadh, as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIII. Owing to the similarity of their forms, it is possible that these two names or titles are a doublet of the same original. The persons bearing them appear to be unknown except in Sayf's reports, as is the case with most of the Persians he names.

639. The large district on the lower Tigris between Kaskar and al-Baṣrah. See the detailed article in *EI^1*, s.v. Maisān; Le Strange, *Lands*, 43, 80, map II; Morony, *Iraq*, 127, 159–63; Donner, *Conquests*, 159–60.

They met at Bābil and fought each other a fierce battle on the nearer bank of al-Ṣarāh[640] on the first road. Then al-Muthannā and some of the Muslims came against the elephant by turns, for it had scattered the ranks and the squadrons, and they gained its slaughter, [2118] killing it. They then defeated the Persians. The Muslims pursued them, killing them until they had brought them beyond their frontier outposts. They remained in these, but the pursuers continued to follow the defeated remnants until they reached al-Madā'in.

ʿAbdah b. al-Ṭabīb al-Saʿdī[641] spoke [poetry] regarding that. ʿAbdah had migrated (*hājar*)[642] owing to the migration of a wife of his, so that he participated in the Battle of Bābil. When she had caused him to despair, he returned to the desert and declaimed:[643]

Is the rope of Khawlah after the parting still joined,
 or are you, living far away from her, [only] preoccupied?
Lovers have days that they remember,
 and the course of a journey, before the departure, had its imagined appearance.
Khuwaylah[644] has settled among a group with whom I am acquainted[645]
 before al-Madā'in; among them are the rooster and the elephant.
They strike the heads of the Persians in open daylight;
 among them are horsemen who are neither weaponless nor sway in the saddle.

And so on. Al-Farazdaq,[646] when he was enumerating the noble

640. This is the Great Ṣarāh Canal, which branched off from the Euphrates just above Bābil and carried water due east as far as the Tigris. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 72–73, map II.

641. ʿAbdah b. Yazīd al-Ṭabīb al-ʿAbshamī, the poet. See Ṭabarī, I, 2292; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 78; II, 134; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 262; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XVIII, 163–64.

642. That is, he migrated from the Arabian peninsula to the conquered lands, here to Iraq.

643. Lines 1, 3, and 4 of this poem are also found in Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XVIII, 163. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 75 (al-Madā'in), has all four lines plus one more. Both vary from Ṭabarī's text.

644. The diminutive for Khawlah.

645. Or, "I visited."

646. The famous Baṣran Tamīmī poet, he died in 110/728 or 112/730. See *EI²*, s.v. al-Farazdaḳ.

[2119] houses of the Bakr b. Wā'il and mentioned al-Muthannā and his killing of the elephant, [said]:[647]

The house of al-Muthannā, who slew the elephant by force,
is at Bābil, for the sovereignty of Bābil belongs to a horseman.

Shahrbarāz died at the time of the defeat of Hurmuz Jādhūyah. The Persians quarreled amongst themselves. The lands of the Sawād between the Tigris and Burs[648] remained in the hands of al-Muthannā and the Muslims. Then the Persians agreed after Shahrbarāz on Dukht-i Zabān,[649] the daughter of Kisrā, but no order of hers was carried out, she was deposed, and Sābūr b. Shahrbarāz[650] was made king.

When Sābūr b. Shahrbarāz became king, al-Farrukhzādh b. al-Bindawān took charge of his affairs. He asked Sābūr to marry him to Āzarmīdukht,[651] the daughter of Kisrā, and so he did, but she became angry at that and said, "O cousin, would you marry me to my slave?" He replied, "Be ashamed of such talk, and do not repeat it to me again, for he is your husband!" Therefore, she sent a message to Siyāwukhsh al-Rāzī,[652] who was one of the treacherous killers among the Persians, and complained to him about what she feared. He said to her, "If you dislike this, do not go back to him about it. Rather, send a message to Sābūr, telling him to have al-Farrukhzādh come to you. I will protect you from him." She did so, and Sābūr did so. Siyāwukhsh readied himself. When it was the night of the wedding, al-Farrukhzādh approached and went inside, where Siyāwukhsh unleashed himself on him, slaying him and those with him. Then he rushed out with her to Sābūr. She came into his presence, and they went in to him and killed him. Āzarmīdukht bt. Kisrā became queen, and the Persians were occupied with that.

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647. A version of the complete poem is found in Farazdaq, *Dīwān*, II, 666–70.

648. Now called al-Biris, it was the ancient Borsippa and presently shows extensive ruins. It is located 21 km. southwest of Bābil between the two branches of the Euphrates. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 38 n. 30, 39, 245–46, 276, 278, and accompanying map of northern Arabia (h 20); Morony, *Iraq*, 148, 174.

649. Mentioned only in this place by Sayf.

650. Mentioned only by Sayf. See note 633.

651. She reigned a year and a half, or probably less, in about 630–32 C.E. See Ṭabarī, I, 1064–65; Christensen, *L'Iran*, 493; Frye, *History*, 337; *CHI*, III, 171.

652. Siyāwukhsh b. Mihrān b. Bahrām Shūbīn, he is allegedly the grandson of the usurper Bahrām VI (590–91 C.E.). He probably is yet another imaginary scion of a pre-Islamic house said to have been conquered by the Muslims in the early campaigns. Sayf improbably claims that he was the king of al-Rayy in 22/643. See Ṭabarī, I, 2447, 2653–54. His alleged father Mihrān is mentioned above, pp. 53–54. See note 289.

News about Abū Bakr was slow in reaching the Muslims. Al-Muthannā made Bashīr b. al-Khaṣāṣiyyah his deputy in charge of the Muslims and put Saʿīd b. Murrah al-ʿIjlī in his place in the forward outposts. Al-Muthannā set out to go to Abū Bakr [first] in order to tell him the news about the Muslims and the polytheists, [second] to ask his permission to seek the help of those whose had clearly shown their repentence and their regret from among the people of apostasy (*ahl al-riddah*) who had asked his permission to join campaigns, and [third] to inform him that he had not left behind anyone more able than they to fight the Persians, to wage war on them, and to help the immigrants (*muhājirīn*).[653] He arrived at Medina when Abū Bakr had fallen ill. [2120]

After Khālid had set out for Syria, Abū Bakr fell ill with the illness from which he was to die within months. Al-Muthannā arrived when he had become better. Abū Bakr entrusted [the succession] to ʿUmar. When al-Muthannā told him the news, he said, "I must consult ʿUmar." When ʿUmar came, he said to him,

> Listen, O ʿUmar, to what I say to you, then act according to it. I hope to die on this day of mine. (That was a Monday.) If I die, do not by any means let the evening enter before you have summoned the men [to go] with al-Muthannā. If I delay until the night, do not by any means let the morning come before you summon the men [to go] with al-Muthannā. Do not let any catastrophe at all, even if it is great, keep you from the matter of your religion and your Lord's counsel. You saw what I did on the day the Messenger of God died, and the people were never stricken with the like of it. By God, if I were to weaken in the affair of God and the affair of His Messenger, He would abandon me and punish me, so that Medina would be consumed by fire.[654] If God grants victory to the commanders in Syria, return the troops of Khālid to Iraq, for they are its people, the governors of its affairs alone, and the people of violence and courage against the enemy.

653. Here this term seems clearly to mean the Muslims fighting in Iraq, rather than its better-known usage, referring to the Qurashīs who had migrated from Mecca to Medina.

654. This would appear to be an allusion to the Battle of al-Ḥarrah, called *Ḥarrat al-Nār*, "the Ḥarrah of the Fire," which was so disastrous to the Medinans. It took place in 63/683 and witnessed the slaughter of many of the descendants of noble Qurashī and Anṣārī lineages. See *EI²*, s.v. al-Ḥarra; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 289–314.

[2121] Abū Bakr died at night. ʿUmar then buried him at night and said prayers over him in the mosque. He also summoned the men to [join] al-Muthannā after Abū Bakr had been interred. ʿUmar said, "Abū Bakr knew that it would annoy me to put Khālid in charge of warfare in Iraq when he ordered me to send back his troops but left aside mention of Khālid himself."

Abū Jaʿfar: The matter of Abū Bakr reached Āzarmīdukht when one half of al-Sawād was under his control. Then he died, and the Persians were diverted by internal affairs from removing the Muslims from al-Sawād in the time between the rule of Abū Bakr to the accession of ʿUmar and the return of al-Muthannā with Abū ʿUbayd[655] to Iraq. At that time, most of the troops of the people of Iraq were at al-Ḥīrah and the outposts on al-Sīb, whence raids brought them to the bank of the Tigris. The Tigris was a barrier between the Arabs and the Persians. This is the story of Iraq during the reign of Abū Bakr, from its beginning to its end.

Continuation of the Report of Ibn Isḥāq

Abū Bakr wrote to Khālid when the latter was at al-Ḥīrah, commanding him to reinforce the forces in Syria with the strong among those he had with him, and to lead them forth, leaving behind to be in charge of the weak a man from among them. When the letter of Abū Bakr came to Khālid with that [message], Khālid said, "This is the work of al-Uʿaysir, the son of Umm Shamlah[656] — meaning ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb — who has envied me that the conquest of Iraq should be at my hand." Khālid set out with the strong among his men and sent the weak and the women back to Medina, the city of
[2122] the Messenger. He put in charge of them ʿUmayr b. Saʿd al-Anṣārī. Khālid left behind al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah al-Shaybānī in command of those of the Rabīʿah and other groups who had embraced Islam.

Then he went along until he stopped at ʿAyn al-Tamr and raided its people, making gains from them. He also took up positions before a fortress there in which Kisrā had stationed troops, until he got

655. Abū ʿUbayd b. Masʿūd al-Thaqafī, he is the father of al-Mukhtār, the famous Shīʿī rebel in al-Kūfah 65–67/685–87. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 118; II, 561; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 108–10; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 307–10; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 161–62; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 130–31; Donner, *Conquests*, 174, 191–94, 211, 223, 375.

656. That is, "the little left-handed one, the son of temporal joys."

them to come out and cut off their heads. He took many captives from ʿAyn al-Tamr and from among the sons of those garrison troops and sent them to Abū Bakr. Among those captives were Abū ʿAmrah, the *mawlā* of the Shaybān,[657] who was the father of ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Abī ʿAmrah;[658] Abū ʿUbayd, the *mawlā* of al-Muʿallā of the Anṣār, from the Banū Zurayq;[659] Abū ʿAbdallāh, the *mawlā* of the Zuhrah;[660] Khayr, the *mawlā* of Abū Dāwūd al-Anṣārī, who was also one of the Banū Māzin b. al-Najjār;[661] Yasār, who was the grandfather of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, the *mawlā* of Qays b. Makhramah b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf;[662] Aflaḥ,[663] the *mawlā* of Abū Ayyūb al-

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657. Text: *Shabbān*; read: *Shaybān*.

658. Al-Shaybānī, he was born c. 30/651 in Medina, where he was part of the Umayyad circle, being a companion of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān. Subsequently, he fled to Damascus with the Umayyads, in 64/684. He accompanied ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to Egypt during the latter's governorship but returned to Damascus after his patron's death. He later became an important adviser to the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, representing him in an embassy to the Roman emperor Leo III in 100/719, after which no more is heard of him. He married a sister of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, the conqueror of North Africa and Spain. He also was a poet. See ʿAṭwān, *Sīrah*, 75–77. See also notes 303–4 above.

659. A Medinan, he was also killed at the Battle of al-Ḥarrah in 63/683. His name is given by Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 87, as Abū ʿAbdallāh ʿUbayd, the *mawlā* of ʿUbayd b. al-Muʿallā. However, as ʿUbayd b. al-Muʿallā is said to have fallen at Uḥud in 3/625, it is impossible for a *mawlā* taken captive in 13/634 to have belonged to him. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 561; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 126; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 459–60; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 182; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 447. Probably the name of the *mawlā*, ʿUbayd, has been confused with that of the son of al-Muʿallā who was actually his master. Al-Muʿallā b. Lawdhān himself is only a name and thus probably was never a Muslim, except in Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 306, where he probably is mistakenly named among the slain at Uḥud. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 192; II, 410; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 447–48.

660. Text: Zahrah; read: the Zuhrah, referring to the Qurashī clan of the Zuhrah. This Abū ʿAbdallāh is unidentified.

661. Abū Dāwūd ʿUmayr b. ʿĀmir was a participant at the battle of Badr and Uḥud. See Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 24, 80, 95, 142, 149, 164; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 633, 705; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 518; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 88; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 58. Khayr is unidentified.

662. Qays b. Makhramah was a noble Qurashī who would appear to have already been a Muslim by 7/629, when he was given a share of the spoils of Khaybar. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 15; II, 461; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 694–95; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 351; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 92; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 9, 102; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 302; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 259–60.

663. This Aflaḥ was one of the famous early traditionists of Medina, where he died, possibly in 63/683 at the Battle of al-Ḥarrah. However, some sources state that it was his son Kathīr who fell there, which would appear more probable. His master Abū Ayyūb is said to have freed him and bestowed on him a fortune of forty thousand dirhams. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 86–87, 298–99; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 313; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 368–69.

Anṣārī, who was also one of the Banū Mālik b. al-Najjār;[664] and Ḥumrān b. Abān, the *mawlā* of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. Khālid b. al-Walīd also slew Hilāl b. ʿAqqah b. Bishr al-Namarī and hanged him on a tree at ʿAyn al-Tamr.

Then Khālid proposed to go into the desert from Qurāqir, which was a waterhole belonging to the Kalb, to Suwā, which was a waterhole belonging to the Bahrāʾ. Between them was five days' journey. Khālid was unfamiliar with the route, wherefore he sought a guide. He was introduced to Rāfiʿ b. ʿAmīrah al-Ṭāʾī. Khālid said to him, "Set off with the men." Rāfiʿ answered him, "You will not find that [route] bearable with the horses and the baggage. By God, even the lone rider fears for himself from it. No one travels along it without exposing himself to danger. It is five long nights, during which no water is to be obtained, while it is also easy to lose the way." Khālid
[2123] said to him, "Woe to you! By God, I have no alternative to that. A strict order from the commander has come to me about that. Therefore, command as you see fit." He responded, "Take much water. Whoever of you can make the ears of his camel prick up from [want of] water, let him do it, for they are murderous wastes, except for what God prevents. Find me twenty huge, fat old camels for slaughter." Khālid brought them to him. Rāfiʿ busied himself with them, making them thirsty until he had exhausted them from thirst. Then he brought them to water so that they would drink, until, when they were full, he directed himself to them, cutting off their lips and then tying them up with bags, so that they could not ruminate. Then he left their backs free [of loads]. Then he said to Khālid, "Go."

Khālid set out in his company, making haste with his horses and baggage. Every time he stopped at a campsite, he pressed the water out of the stomachs of four of those old camels. He took what was in their paunches and gave it to the horses to drink. Then the men drank from what water they had carried with them. When Khālid grew fearful for his companions on the last day in the desert, he said to Rāfiʿ b. ʿAmīrah, who was bleary-eyed, "Woe to you, O Rāfiʿ!

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664. Khālid b. Zayd, one of the most famous of the Anṣār, he was a supporter of ʿAlī, for whom he fought against the Khārijites in 38/658 and whom he served as governor of Medina. He is best known, however, for his death in a campaign against the Romans in 49–52/669–72 or, in one less probable report, 55/675. See *EI²*, s.v. Abū Ayyūb; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 186; II, 343; Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 93, 366, 368–69; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 484–85; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 77, 223, 232, 248; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 403–5; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 405–6.

What [news] do you have?" Rāfiʿ answered, "You have reached a copious source, God willing." When they came near the two eminences, he said to the men, "Look. Do you see a bush of boxwood like the seat of a man?" They replied, "We do not see it." He said, "We belong to God and to him we return![665] Then you have perished, by God! And I have perished too, you bastards! Look!" When they searched again, they found it; it had been cut down, but a part of it remained. When the Muslims saw it, they shouted, "God is Greater!" Rāfiʿ b. ʿAmīrah also shouted, "God is Greater!" Then they dug at its root. They dug and uncovered a spring, from which they drank until they had quenched their thirst. After that, campsites [with water] were continuous. Rāfiʿ said, "By God, I never came to this waterhole but one time: I came to it with my father when I was a boy." A Muslim poet said:[666]

Rāfiʿ's eyes are God's; how was he guided? [2124]
He went into the desert from Qurāqir to Suwā
Not giving the camels drink for five days; when the army traversed it, it wept.
No human being was seen to traverse it before you.

When Khālid reached Suwā, he attacked its inhabitants, who were of the Bahrāʾ, before morning. Some people among them were drinking wine, which they had in a vat. They were gathered around it, while their singer was singing:[667]

Will you two not give me another drink before the army of Abū Bakr?
Perhaps our deaths are near, though we do not know.
Will you two not give me another drink in the glass, again giving me reddish-colored, pure, flowing wine?
Will you two not give me another drink of the best dark wine,
of the good-quality wine that diverts from the cares[668] of the soul?

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665. Qurʾān 2: 156.
666. These lines are also cited without attribution in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 131, and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 271; IV, 318.
667. Five of these lines, with one slight variation, are found in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 427; the first of them is cited in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 132. Both sources attribute them to Ḥurqūṣ.
668. Following Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIII.

I suspect that the Muslims' horses and Khālid
will come upon you before morning from al-Bishr.[669]
Will you not go before they fight [you],
and before the pubescent girls go forth from the tent?

They claim that that singer of theirs was slain in the attack, and that his blood flowed into that vat.

Thereafter, Khālid continued in the direction in which he was
[2125] going until he attacked the Ghassān at Marj Rāhiṭ. Then he went on until he stopped at the canal of Buṣrā, which was being besieged by Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ, Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah, and Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān. They all came together against it and besieged it until Buṣrā made a peace agreement on terms of the *jizyah*. Thus God conquered for the Muslims. It was the first of the cities of Syria to be conquered in the caliphate of Abū Bakr. Then they went all together to Palestine to support ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī. ʿAmr was encamped at al-ʿArabāt in al-Ghawr[670] of Palestine. The Romans heard about them and withdrew from Jilliq to Ajnādayn.[671] Theodore, the full brother of Herakleios, commanded them. Ajnādayn is a town between al-Ramlah[672] and Bayt Jibrīn[673] in the land of Palestine. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī set out when he heard about Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ, Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah, and Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, so that he met them and they gathered at Ajnādayn in order to mass against the Romans.

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669. This line would support Caetani's contention that Khālid came via the region of Jabal Bishrī to the northeast rather than by the route suggested by Musil.

670. Al-Ghawr is the deep rift valley extending from the headwaters of the Jordan River through the Dead Sea to the head of the Gulf of ʿAqabah. See *EI*², s.v. al-Ghawr; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 15, 30–32, 52–53, 67–68; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 216–18.

671. Site of the first battle between the Muslims and Romans in the conquest of Palestine, its exact location is uncertain but somewhere on the plain of southwestern Palestine, perhaps about 25 km. west-southwest of Jerusalem, south of the present village of Bayt Jimāl. See *EI*², s.v. Ajnādayn; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 389; Donner, *Conquests*, 129, 315 n. 189. Ṭabarī, I, 2398–2402, and Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 103–4, give other versions of this battle. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 143–48, has an exaggerated and distorted version putting Khālid b. al-Walīd in command even here.

672. A large town founded c. 86/705 by Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik and still extant, it was the administrative center of early Muslim Palestine. See *EI*¹, s.v. al-Ramla; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 15, 28, 39, 41, 303–8; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 69–70.

673. Also Bayt Jibrīl, ancient Betogabra-Baetogabris-Eleutheropolis, it lies 35 km. west-southwest of Jerusalem. It was populated by the Judhām. See *EI*², s.v. Bayt Djibrīn; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 15, 28–29, 39, 41, 64, 380, 412–13; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 519.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr[674] — ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr: The Romans were commanded by one of their men called al-Qubiqulār,[675] whom Herakleios had made his deputy over the commanders in Syria when he had returned to Constantinople. It was to him that Theodore went with those Roman forces that were with him. But the scholars of Syria claim that the Romans were commanded by none other than Theodore. God knows best.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr—ʿUrwah: When the two armies drew near to each other, al-Qubiqulār sent forth an Arab man. (I have been told [2126] that that man was one of the Quḍāʿah from the Tazīd b. Ḥaydān[676] called Ibn Hazārif.[677]) He said, "Go in among those people. Stay among them a day and a night, then bring me information about them." Thus, an Arab man went in among them unquestioned. He stayed among them a day and a night, then came back to al-Qubiqulār, who asked, "What did you find out?" He answered, "By night, [they are] monks, by day, horsemen. If a son steals their property, they cut off his hand; if he commits adultery, they stone him to establish the right among them." Al-Qubiqulār said, "If you have told me the truth, the interior of the earth is better than meeting these on its surface. I wish that my fortune from God will be that he will separate me from them, neither helping me against them, nor helping them against me." Then the troops marched against each other and fought. When al-Qubiqulār had seen what he saw of fighting the Muslims, he said to the Romans, "Wrap my head in a robe." They

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674. Al-Asadī al-Qurashī, he was a Medinan scion of the famous Zubayrī house and a traditionist of good reputation. He died 110–20/728–38. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 184; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 250; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 93.

675. Text: al-Qubuqlār; read: al-Qubiqulār, as suggested by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 323. The Greek *koubikoulários*, Latin *cubicularius*, is a title rather than a name; it designated a chamberlain, who usually was nonmilitary and a eunuch. See Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 566–70. But in the troubles of the seventh century, eunuchs could command troops as well, as attested in Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 43, for the year 27–28/648–49. This *koubikoulários* would seem to be identified with the Sergios of Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 37, and perhaps also with the eunuch on p. 36.

676. Closely related to the Mahrah in the genealogical tree, but apparently from the Syrian Arabs. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 328; II, 545.

677. Unidentified and apparently not mentioned elsewhere.

asked him, "Why?" He said, "[It is] the day for the miserable that I do not want to see. I have not seen in this world a day worse than this." The Muslims cut off his head while he was wrapped up. Ajnādayn occured on 28 Jumādā al-Ūlā of the year 13 (30 July 634). A group of the Muslims were slain on that day, including Salamah b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah, Habbār b. al-Aswad b. ʿAbd al-Asad,[678] Naʿīm b. ʿAbdallāh al-Naḥḥām,[679] Hishām b. al-ʿĀṣī b. Wāʾil, and a group of others from the Quraysh. (We were not given the names of any of the Anṣār[680] who were killed in it.)

[2127] In this year, Abū Bakr died on 21 or 22 Jumādā al-Ākhirah (22–23 August 634).

Continuation of the Report of Abū Zayd

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, according to his *isnād*, which has been mentioned before: Khālid came to Damascus, and the governor of Buṣrā massed [his forces] against him. Khālid set out against him, he and ʿAbū ʿUbaydah. Adrunjār met them, and Khālid triumphed over them, defeating them so that they entered their fortress and sought a peace agreement. He made peace with them on condition that [they pay] a dīnār for each person every year, and a *jarīb*[681] of wheat. Then the enemy came back against the Muslims. The Muslims' troops came all together to Ajnādayn. The two sides met on Saturday, 28 Jumādā al-Ūlā 13 (30 July 634).[682] The Muslims were victo-

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678. This is an apparent mistake for Habbār b. *Sufyān* b. ʿAbd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī al-Qurashī, whose martyrdom at Ajnādayn is corroborated by a number of sources, though Muʾtah also is mentioned. The better-known Habbār b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib was a different individual. See note 555.

679. Al-ʿAdawī al-Qurashī, he is said to have been one of the earliest Muslims. Other versions put his death at Muʾtah or al-Yarmūk. Though an early Muslim, he did not leave Mecca for Medina until 6/628. He was said to have been employed collecting the tax of a part of the Khuzāʿah at the end of 8 or the beginning of 9/630. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 26; II, 448 (under Nuʿaym); Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 973–74; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 258–59, 343–44; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 293; IV, 72, 138–39; V, 170–71; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 380; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 567–68.

680. The Medinan Arabs, who entirely embraced Islam in the Prophet's lifetime and formed the backbone of his forces. See *EI*², s.v. Anṣār; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 151–91.

681. A measure of area, 1592 square meters. See Morony, *Iraq*, 100, 103, 531. But it is also, as here, a dry measure equal to four *aqfizah*. See Fayrūzābādī, *Muḥīṭ*, s.v. *j-r-b*. A *qafīz* varies from 496 to 640 liters.

682. The day of the week matches with the date.

rious, and God defeated the polytheists. Herakleios's deputy was killed, and men from among the Muslims were martyred. Then Herakleios came back against the Muslims. They met at al-Wāqūṣah. The Muslims fought them, and the enemy fought the Muslims. [News of] Abū Bakr's death, and also Abū ʿUbaydah's appointment, came to them while they were arrayed in battle formation. This battle occurred in Rajab (31 August–29 September 634).

[Abū Bakr's Illness and Death]

Abū Zayd—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, according to his *isnād*, which has been mentioned before: Abū Bakr died at the age of sixty-three years on Monday, 21 Jumādā al-Akhirah (22 August 634).[683] The cause of his death was that the Jews fed him poison in a grain of rice; it is also said in porridge (*jadhīdhah*). Al-Ḥārith b. Kaladah[684] took some with him, then held back. He said to Abū Bakr, "You have eaten food which has been poisoned, the poison of a year." Abū Bakr died after a year, having been sick for fifteen days. He was told, "If only you would send for the doctor." He responded, "He has already seen me." They said, "What did he say to you?" Abū Bakr answered, "That I should do what I want." [2128]

Abū Jaʿfar: ʿAttāb b. Asīd[685] died at Mecca on the day on which Abū Bakr died. Both were poisoned together, then ʿAttāb died at Mecca.

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683. The day of the week matches with the date.

684. Al-Thaqafī. He is renowned as a famous doctor who had studied medicine at Jundīsābūr and also was a Companion of the Prophet and especially of Abū Bakr. He may have embraced Islam at the fall of al-Ṭā'if in 8/630. Ibn Abī Ḥātim denied that he ever became a Muslim. See *EI²*, *Supplement*, s.v. al-Ḥārith b. Kalada; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 118; II, 308; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 931–32, 1116; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 147, 198, 247; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 485; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 489–90; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 288–89.

685. Al-Umawī al-Qurashī, he was born after 600 C.E. He was appointed governor of Mecca by the Prophet in 8/630, even though he had only just become a Muslim. He held the post until his death. A variant version puts his death c. 23/644 rather than 13/634, as here. The English word *tabby* derives ultimately from his name. See *EI²*, s.v. ʿAttāb; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 8; II, 204; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 6, 889, 959; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 413, 440, 500, 605; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 145; III, 187; V, 446; VIII, 262; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 187, 312, 418; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 56, 58, 63, 72, 99, 107; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 451–52.

Other authorities[686] on the cause of Abū Bakr's illness, which he died of, include al-Ḥārith[687]—Ibn Saʿd[688]—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—Usāmah b. Zayd al-Laythī[689]—Muḥammad b. Ḥamzah[690]—ʿAmr[691]—his father;[692] Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh[693]—al-Zuhrī[694]—ʿUrwah—ʿĀʾishah;[695] and ʿUmar b. ʿImrān b.[696] ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥ-

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686. Of these three *isnāds*, all go through Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī, the third transmitter in the first *isnād*.

687. Al-Ḥārith b. Abī Usāmah, he was a transmitter of Ibn Saʿd's traditions who died in 282/895. See *EI²*, s.v. Ibn Saʿd.

688. Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Baṣrī, he was a famous transmitter of the traditions of al-Wāqidī. His great work *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* is still extant and often cited in these pages. He lived c. 168–230/784–845. See *EI²*, s.v. Ibn Saʿd.

689. Actually a *mawlā* of the Layth, he was an important Medinan transmitter whose authority was impugned by many scholars but nevertheless deemed trustworthy by Muslim in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*. He died at an age over seventy in 153/770. Al-Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar allege that he is different from Usāmah b. Zayd b. Aslam, the grandson of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's *mawlā* Aslam, but it appears from their biographies that the two are either the same person or were two persons whose stories have become confused. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 413; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 662; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, I, 174–75; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 207–10.

690. Muḥammad b. Ḥamzah b. ʿAmr al-Aslamī, he was a Medinan transmitter with a mixed reputation. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 248; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 127.

691. Apparently this is ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ al-Sahmī al-Qurashī, a noble Ḥijāzī traditionist of mixed reputation who died at al-Ṭāʾif in 118/736. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 25; II, 184; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 243; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 411; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 516; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 48–55.

692. Shuʿayb b. Muḥammad, he was a resident of al-Ṭāʾif and Medina. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 25; II, 530; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 243; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 411; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 356–57, VIII, 51–55.

693. Ṭabarī, *Index*, 517, identifies this person as Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr b. ʿUmar b. Dirham, the *mawlā* of the Asad, who died in 203/819 and hence was nearly contemporary with al-Wāqidī. Although al-Wāqidī did quote from him, he is not the Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh meant here, for there is no evidence he quoted from al-Zuhrī. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 254–55. Rather, the Muḥammad here is Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muslim b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī, the nephew of the great al-Zuhrī and a Medinan traditionist of mixed reputation. This nephew was murdered in 152/769 or 157/774. He is the only Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh attested as transmitting both from al-Zuhrī and to al-Wāqidī. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 274; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 278–80.

694. Muḥammad b. Muslim b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī al-Qurashī, c. 50–124/670–742, he was one of the most famous early Islamic scholars. He migrated from Medina to Damascus in 81/700, where he was on intimate terms with the Umayyads, especially the caliph Hishām, whose children he tutored. See *EI¹*, s.v. al-Zuhrī; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 20; II, 424; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 388–89; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 274; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 445–51.

695. That is, ʿĀʾishah bt. Abī Bakr, daughter of the first caliph and wife of the Prophet. She was born in 614 C.E. (or earlier) and died in 58/678. See *EI²*, s.v. ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 374–78; also, note 766.

696. Text: *ʿan*; read: *b.*, as Ṭabarī, I, 2730, and *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIII.

mān b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq[697] — ʿUmar b. al-Ḥusayn, the *mawlā* of the family of Maẓʿūn[698] — Ṭalḥah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr:[699] Abū Bakr first began to get sick when he bathed on Monday, 7 Jumādā al-Ākhirah (8 August 634),[700] which was a cold day. Thus, he contracted a fever for fifteen days, during which he did not go forth for congregational worship. He commanded ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to lead the worship. The people would come in to visit him, though he grew worse each day. He was staying in his house, which God's Messenger had given him, which faces the house of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān today. ʿUthmān had compelled them to be constantly with Abū Bakr in his illness. Abū Bakr died on the eve of Tuesday,[701] 21 Jumādā al-Ākhirah of the year 13 of the *hijrah* (22 August 634). His caliphate lasted two years, three months, and ten days.

Abū Maʿshar: His caliphate was two years and four months less four days.

He died at the age of sixty-three years. That is agreed on by all the reports. He lived the lifespan of the Prophet. Abū Bakr was born three years after the elephant.

Ibn Ḥumayd — Jarīr[702] — Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd[703] — Saʿīd b. al-Mu- [2129]
sayyab:[704] Abū Bakr by his caliphate completed the lifespan of the

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697. A great-great grandson of the caliph Abū Bakr. Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 278–79, describes his genealogy only down to his father ʿImrān, omitting this ʿUmar himself, who does not seem to be attested elsewhere.

698. Text: Maṭʿūn; read: Maẓʿūn. This ʿUmar was Abū Qudāmah al-Makkī, the *mawlā* of ʿĀʾishah bt. Qudāmah b. Maẓʿūn of the famous Meccan family of the Jumaḥ clan of the Quraysh. He is said to have served as the judge of Medina and was renowned for his piety and trustworthiness as a traditionist. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 433–34. Wakīʿ, *Quḍāh*, I, 268, reports that he was judge of Mecca under al-Manṣūr or al-Mahdī.

699. A Medinan transmitter of tradition who is held to be reliable, he was a son of the famous ʿĀʾishah bt. Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh and was named for his maternal grandfather. His sister married the caliph al-Walīd I. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 278–79; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 17–18.

700. The day of the week matches with the date.

701. The Islamic day begins at sunset, so that he actually died on a Monday, as on p. 129.

702. Jarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Qurṭ al-Ḍabbī, 107–10/725–28 to 188/804, he was a traditionist with a fair reputation. He was born in a village near Iṣfahān, grew up in al-Kūfah, and then migrated to al-Rayy, where he became judge. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 75–77.

703. Al-Najjārī al-Anṣārī, he was a very famous Medinan traditionist and judge at Medina (in 126/744), al-Ḥīrah, and al-Hāshimiyyah near Baghdād (in 143/760 to his death in 143–46/760–63). See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 186; II, 589; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 554, 645; Wakīʿ, *Quḍāh*, I, 178–79; III, 241–45; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 63; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 221–24.

704. Al-Makhzūmī al-Qurashī, 15–19/636–40 to 93–94/712–13, he was a Medi-

Messenger of God. He died at the age of the Prophet.

Abū Kurayb[705] — Abū Naʿīm[706] — Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq — Abū al-Safar — ʿĀmir[707] — Jarīr:[708] I was with Muʿāwiyah when he said, "The Prophet died when he was sixty-three years old, Abū Bakr died when he was sixty-three years old, and ʿUmar was killed when he was sixty-three years old."

Abū al-Aḥwaṣ[709] — Abū Isḥāq[710] — ʿĀmir b. Saʿd[711] — Jarīr: Muʿāwiyah said, "God's Messenger was taken when he was sixty-three years old, ʿUmar was killed when he was sixty-three years old, and Abū Bakr died when he was sixty-three years old."

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, in the report from which I have drawn: Abū Bakr's rule lasted two years, three months, and twenty days, and it is also said ten days.

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nan scholar of major importance in the transmission of tradition from the Companions. He often is considered the most important figure of the generation after the Companions. He is said to have been whipped by the governor of Medina for refusing to render allegiance to ʿAbd al-Malik's sons in 84/703, just as he is similarly reported to have been lashed for refusing to pay allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr in 68/688. He married the daughter of Abū Hurayrah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 22; II, 501; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 379–84; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 345–46; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 123, 335, 377, 407; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 84–88.

705. Muḥammad b. al-ʿĀlāʾ b. Kurayb al-Hamdānī, 170–248/786–862, he was an important Kūfan traditionist with a good reputation. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 414; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 385–86.

706. Text: Nuʿaym; read: Naʿīm, as is the common Arabic name today. He was al-Faḍl b. ʿAmr, nicknamed Dukayn, b. Ḥammād b. Zuhayr b. Dirham al-Mulāʾī, the *mawlā* of the family of Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Taymī, and an influential scholar of al-Kūfah. He lived 130–219/748–834. See *EI*², s.v. Abū Nuʿaym; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 400–1; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 783; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 270–76.

707. According to Ṭabarī, *Indices*, 305, he is ʿĀmir b. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ al-Zuhrī al-Qurashī, who indeed is attested as a transmitter of tradition in Medina. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 264; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 63–64. See also note 711, below. It is curious but not exceptional to find a Medinan transmitter like this in the middle of a Kūfan *isnād*.

708. That is, Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī, d. 51/671. See note 206, above.

709. Sallām b. Salīm, the *mawlā* of the Ḥanīfah, he was a Kūfan scholar of good reputation who died in 179/795. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 379; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 719; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 282–83.

710. ʿAmr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Sabīʿī al-Hamdānī, c. 33/654 to 126–29/744–47, he was a very important Kūfan traditionist with a fair reputation. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 228; II, 167; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 313–15; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 63–67.

711. Text: Saʿīd; read: Saʿd, as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIII. He is ʿĀmir b. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ al-Zuhrī al-Qurashī. See above, note 707.

Who Washed Abū Bakr, His Shroud, Who Prayed over Him, the Time of His Funeral Prayer, and the Time at Which He Died

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—Mālik b.[712] Abī al-Rijāl[713]—his father[714]—ʿĀʾishah: Abū Bakr died between the worship of sunset and that of total darkness.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Yaḥyā b. Wāḍiḥ[715]—Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh[716]—ʿAṭāʾ[717] and Ibn Abī Mulaykah:[718] Asmāʾ bt. ʿUmays[719] said, "Abū Bakr said to me, 'Wash me.' I said, 'I cannot bear that.' He said, "ʿAbd

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712. Text: *ʿan*; read: *b.*, as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIII.

713. Text: al-Raḥḥāl; read: al-Rijāl. This Mālik was a Medinan transmitter who is identified only in the article on his father in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 295. See note 714, below.

714. Abū al-Rijāl Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥārithah al-Najjārī al-Anṣārī, he was a Medinan transmitter of tradition with a mixed reputation. He was called Abū al-Rijāl, "the father of the men," because he had ten sons. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 488; VIII, 480; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 60; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, III, 627; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 295–96; XII, 94.

715. Abū Tumaylah, the *mawlā* of the Anṣār, he was a traditionist from Marw who was considered trustworthy. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 375; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 293–94.

716. It is hard to say which Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh this might be. Ṭabarī, *Indices*, 517, proposes al-Anṣārī, but even that does not narrow the field sufficiently. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 247–88.

717. The famous Meccan jurist ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ, the *mawlā* of the Quraysh, 27/646 to 114–15/732–33. See *EI²*, s.v. ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 467–70; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 510; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 199–203.

718. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Zuhayr al-Taymī al-Qurashī, he was a famous Meccan traditionist of good reputation who served as judge of al-Ṭāʾif for Ibn al-Zubayr. He died in 117–18/735–36. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 21; II, 119; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 472–73; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 293; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 516; Wakīʿ, *Quḍāh*, I, 261–62; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 306–7.

719. Al-Khathʿamiyyah, she is possibly the most important woman of early Islam after Khadījah and ʿĀʾishah. She was successively the wife of a Hilālī, then ʿAlī's brother Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, and then the two caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿAlī. One of the earliest Muslims, she migrated with her husband Jaʿfar to Ethiopia, where they remained for about twelve years representing the Prophet's interests. Her sons Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar (See Ṭabarī, I, 3012, 3094, 3139) and Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, brought up in ʿAlī's household, participated in the killing of the caliph ʿUthmān. She was also the center of a genealogical marriage nexus, being related through her sisters to the Prophet's uncles Ḥamzah and al-ʿAbbās, as well as to the early conqueror Khālid b. al-Walīd. She lived until at least 38/658. See *EI²*, *Supplement*, s.v. Asmāʾ; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 226; II, 198; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 280–85; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 44, 80–82, 277; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, IV, 234–36; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 231; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 322, 380–81.

al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr[720] will help you by pouring the water.'"

Al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Mu'ādh b. Mu'ādh[721] and Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Anṣārī[722]—al-Ash'ath[723]—'Abd al-Wāḥid
[2130] b. Ṣabirah[724]—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad: Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq willed that his wife Asmā' wash him, and that if she could not, that his son Muḥammad[725] help her.

Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar: This report is weak, for Muḥammad was only three years old on the day Abū Bakr died.

Ibn Wakī'[726]—Ibn 'Uyaynah[727]—'Amr b. Dīnār[728]—Ibn Abī Mu-

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720. Abū Bakr's eldest son, who only embraced Islam about 8/630. Later, he fought for his sister 'Ā'ishah at the Battle of the Camel, after which he returned to Mecca, where he died 53–58/673–78. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 21; II, 128 (under b. 'Atīq); Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 276, 278; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, II, 399–402; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 407–8 (under b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān).

721. Al-'Anbarī, 117/735 or 119/737 to 195–96/811–12, he was a scholar of al-Baṣrah with a good reputation who also served twice as judge of that city, in 170/786 and from 181/797 to 191/807. His judgeship was stormy. He was the first follower of Abū Ḥanīfah to hold that position and opposed the Mu'tazilah. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 293; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 514, 708, 738, 749, 754; Wakī', *Quḍāh*, II, 137–42, 147–54; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 194–95.

722. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Muthannā b. 'Abdallāh b. Anas b. Mālik, 118/736 to 212–15/827–30, he was an important Baṣran traditionist with a good reputation. He served as judge of al-Baṣrah 191–92/807–8, then moved to Baghdād, where he was judge at 'Askar al-Mahdī, then took charge of the *maẓālim* court, then was judge of al-Baṣrah again 198–99/814–15. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 294–95; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 516, 738–39, 749, 758, 778; Wakī', *Quḍāh*, II, 154–55, 157–61; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 33; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 274–76.

723. Al-Ash'ath b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Ḥumrānī, the *mawlā* of Ḥumrān b. Abān, he was a Baṣran traditionist with a good reputation. He died in 142/759 or 146/763. He seems to have opposed the Qadariyyah. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 276; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 357–59.

724. Unidentified and mentioned only in this one place in al-Ṭabarī.

725. Infamous as one of the killers of the Caliph 'Uthmān, he lived 10–38/631–58. He was a strong partisan of his stepfather 'Alī, whom he served as governor of Egypt until he was executed by Mu'āwiyah's forces. See *EI*[1], s.v. Muḥammad (b. Abī Bakr); Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 21; II, 423; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 277; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 189–90, 203, 213, 218, 232; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 472–73.

726. Sufyān b. Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ al-Rawāsī al-Kilābī, he was a Kūfan traditionist with a poor reputation who died in 247/861. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 394 (noticing only his father); Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 123–25.

727. Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah b. Abī 'Imrān, the *mawlā* of the Hilāl, he was a Kūfan traditionist of excellent reputation who moved to Mecca in 163/780, remaining there for the rest of his life. He lived 107–98/725–814. His father was a tax agent for Khālid al-Qasrī. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 497–98; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 493, 758; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 117–22.

728. The *mawlā* of Bādhān of the Abnā', who were apparently associated with the Jumaḥ of the Quraysh, he was a Meccan traditionist of excellent reputation who died in 125–26/743–44. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 479–80; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 556; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 28–30.

laykah — ʿĀʾishah: Abū Bakr asked her, "In how many [layers] was the Prophet shrouded?" She said, "In three robes." He said, "Wash these two robes of mine—they were worn out—and buy me another robe." I said, "O father, we are wealthy." He said, "O daughter, the living have more right to the new than the dying. Only these two are for the liquid pitch and pus."[729]

Al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd[730] — his father[731] — al-Awzāʿī[732] — ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim:[733] Abū Bakr died in the evening, after the sun had set, on the eve of Tuesday,[734] and he was buried at night on the eve of Tuesday.

Abū Kurayb—ʿAththām[735]—Hishām—his father: Abū Bakr died on the eve of Tuesday and was buried at night.

Abū Zayd — ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, according to his *isnād*, which has been mentioned before: Abū Bakr was carried on the litter on which God's Messenger had been carried. ʿUmar prayed over him in the Mosque of God's Messenger. ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, Ṭalḥah,[736] and

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729. Ar. *muhlah wa ṣadīd*. This refers to torments of hell in Qurʾān 14: 16; 18: 29; 44: 45; 70: 8.

730. Al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd b. Mazyad al-ʿUdhrī, 169–70/786–87 to 269–71/882–84, a traditionist of Bayrūt with a good reputation who followed the school of al-Awzāʿī. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 131–33.

731. Al-Walīd b. Mazyad al-ʿUdhrī, c. 126/744 to 203/818–19, he was the great Bayrūtī transmitter of the juristic school and tradition of al-Awzāʿī. See *EI²*, s.v. al-Awzāʿī; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 150–51.

732. Abū ʿAmr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAmr, 88–157/707–74, though other death dates varying from 151/768 to 158/775 are given. He is the founder of the great Syrian school of Islamic jurisprudence associated with his name. Possibly descended from captives from Sind, or otherwise an authentic Arab from the Hamdān, he seems to have been born in Damascus. He is said to have been appointed judge of Damascus by the caliph Yazīd b. al-Walīd in 126/744. He settled in Bayrūt toward the end of his life. See *EI²*, s.v. al-Awzāʿī; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 488; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 666; Wakīʿ, *Quḍāh*, III, 207; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 238–42.

733. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, the son of the famous Madanī *faqīh*. His mother was Quraybah bt. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr, his father's first cousin. Respected for his piety and well known as a traditionist, he may have caused the removal of Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Malik from the governorship of Medina when he complained to the caliph Hishām about him in 118/736. He died either in 126/744 or 131/749. By misreading the text of Wakīʿ, Caskel has wrongly made him judge of Medina in 150–55/767–72, a position actually held by his son. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 21; II, 130; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 279–80; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 557; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 254–55.

734. That is, "on Monday night."

735. Text: Ghannām; read: ʿAththām. He is Abū ʿAlī ʿAththām b. ʿAlī al-Kilābī, d. 194–95/810–11, who was a Kūfan traditionist enjoying a sound reputation. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 392; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 754; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 105–6.

736. Ṭalḥah al-Khayr b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Taymī al-Qurashī, d. 36/656, he was one of the early Companions known chiefly for his later political roles in the *shūrā* council

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr entered his tomb. ʿAbdallāh[737] also wanted to enter his tomb, but ʿUmar said to him, "Your duty has already been fulfilled."

Abū Jaʿfar: Abū Bakr made a last request according to [the following]:

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Sabrah[738]—ʿUmar b. ʿAbdallāh, that is, Ibn ʿUrwah[739]—ʿUrwah and al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad: Abū Bakr commanded ʿĀʾi-
[2131] shah that he be buried next to the Prophet. When he died, [a grave] was dug for him, and his head was placed by the shoulders of God's Messenger. The grave was joined with the grave of the Prophet. Thus, he was buried there.

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—Ibn ʿUthmān[740]—ʿĀmir b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr:[741] Abū Bakr's head was placed at

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that elected the caliph ʿUthmān and his participation in the Battle of the Camel, where he was killed fighting against ʿAlī. See *EI*¹, s.v. Ṭalḥa; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 21; II, 556; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 214–25; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 280–91; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 229–30.

737. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-ʿAdawī al-Qurashī, born c. 612 C.E., died 73–74/693–94, he was the son of the second caliph and a famous Medinan traditionist of outstanding reputation for scrupulousness and honesty. *EI*², s.v. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 26; II, 120; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 142–88; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 348, 350–51, 356–57; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 347–50.

738. Actually, Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sabrah b. Abī Ruhm al-ʿĀmirī al-Qurashī, 102–62/721–79. He was a Medinan traditionist with a rather poor reputation, perhaps because of his participation in politics. He was judge of Medina 133/751 or 136/753–54 to 141/758. He was a tax collector for the northern Arabian tribal districts of Ṭayyiʾ and Asad, whose money he turned over to the anti-ʿAbbāsid rebel Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah. For this he was imprisoned by al-Manṣūr, but later freed owing to his role in stopping a slave rebellion in Medina. Still later, he settled in Baghdād, where he served as judge for al-Mahdī. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 27; II, 222; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 428–30; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 634, 681, 686; Wakīʿ, *Quḍāh*, I, 200–2, 224; III, 253–54; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 27–28.

739. Al-Asadī al-Qurashī, he was a rather obscure member of the great Zubayrī family of Medina and was a Zubayrī on both sides, his mother being Umm Ḥakīm bt. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 469–70.

740. Ṭabarī, *Indices*, 373, 409, suggests that this is ʿUmar b. ʿUthmān b. ʿUmar b. Mūsā b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar al-Taymī al-Qurashī, a blue-blooded Medinan traditionist who was judge of al-Baṣrah 169–70/785–87, but who died later in Medina. On him, see Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 290–91; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 698; Wakīʿ, *Quḍāh*, II, 133–37; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 482–83. However, al-Wāqidī is not said to have transmitted from him but is specifically said to have transmitted from ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. Hāniʾ, the *mawlā* of ʿUthmān, a rather obscure Medinan who was quoted by the Kūfans. This ʿAmr is also mentioned in the next *khabar* here. On him, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 79.

741. Al-Asadī al-Qurashī, he was a pious member of the Zubayrī family who died in 121/739. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 243; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 524, 532; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 74.

the shoulders of God's Messenger and ʿUmar's head at Abū Bakr's loins.

ʿAlī b. Muslim al-Ṭūsī[742]—Ibn Abī Fudayk[743]—ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. Hāniʾ[744]—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad: I went into ʿĀʾishah's presence and said, "O mother, reveal to me the tomb of the Prophet and his two companions." She then revealed to me three tombs, neither raised high nor cleaving to the ground, laid out in the basinlike depression inside of the red court. I saw that the tomb of the Prophet was put in front, Abū Bakr's tomb was at his head, and ʿUmar was at the leg of the Prophet.

Al-Ḥārith — Ibn Saʿd — Muḥammad b. ʿUmar — Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Sabrah — ʿAmr b. Abī ʿAmr[745] — al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥanṭab:[746] The tomb of Abū Bakr was made flat like the tomb of the Prophet. Water was sprinkled on it. ʿĀʾishah carried out the mourning for him.

Yūnus[747]—Ibn Wahb[748]—Yūnus b. Yazīd[749]—Ibn Shihāb—Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab: When Abū Bakr died, ʿĀʾishah carried out the mourning for him. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb approached until he stood at the door. He forbade the women to weep for Abū Bakr, but they refused to stop. [2132]
ʿUmar said to Hishām b. al-Walīd, "Go inside and bring me the

742. He was a Khurāsānī who settled in Baghdād. He lived 160–253/777–867. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 382–83.

743. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Abī Fudayk Dīnār, the *mawlā* of the Dīl, he was a Medinan traditionist with a fair reputation. He died in 199–200/815–16. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 437; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 762; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 61.

744. See note 740, above.

745. The *mawlā* of al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥanṭab, he was a Medinan traditionist with a mixed reputation. He died in 144/761. See Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, III, 281–82; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 82–84.

746. Actually, al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥanṭab al-Makhzūmī, a blue-blooded Qurashī, he was a Medinan traditionist with a mixed reputation. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 22; II, 439; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 339; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, IV, 129; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 178–79.

747. Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Mūsā al-Ṣadafī 170–264/787–877. He was an Egyptian traditionist with a good reputation who was especially famed for his knowledge of the readings of the Qurʾān. He was wrongfully imprisoned by the ʿAbbāsid governor of Egypt 228–35/843–50. Kindī, *Wulāh wa quḍāh*, 454–56, 470–71, 475, 506; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, IV, 481; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 440–41.

748. ʿAbdallāh b. Wahb b. Muslim, the *mawlā* of the Qurayṣh, 125–97/743–813. He was the greatest Egyptian traditionist of his generation, having a mostly favorable reputation. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 518; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 71–74.

749. Al-Aylī, the *mawlā* of Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān. He was one of the main transmitters of al-Zuhrī's traditions; however, his reputation as a traditionist is mixed. He died in upper Egypt in 159/776. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 520; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, IV, 484; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 450–52.

daughter of Abū Quḥāfah, the sister of Abū Bakr."[750] When she heard that from ʿUmar, ʿĀʾishah said to Hishām, "I forbid my house to you." But ʿUmar said to Hishām, "Go on in, for I have given you permission." Thus, Hishām entered and brought out Umm Farwah, the sister of Abū Bakr, to ʿUmar, who raised his whip over her and gave her a number of blows. The weeping women scattered when they heard that.

Abū Zayd—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, according to his *isnād*: When he was suffering the illness from which he died, he quoted:

Every owner of camels is succeeded by an heir,
  and every owner of spoil is despoiled.
Every owner of absence comes back,
  but the one absent because of death does not come back.

His last words were, "My Lord, take me as a Muslim and join me with the righteous."

Abū Bakr's Appearance

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—Shuʿayb b.[751] Ṭalḥah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq[752]—his father—ʿĀʾishah: When she was in her howdah and saw a man from among the Arabs passing by, she said, "I have not seen a man more like Abū Bakr than this one." We said to her, "Describe Abū Bakr." She said, "A slight, white man, thin-bearded and bowed. His waist wrapper would not hold but would fall down around his loins. He had a lean face, sunken eyes, a bulging forehead, and trembling knuckles."

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, in his version whose *isnād* I have mentioned
[2133] before: He was white mixed with yellowness, of good build, slight, bowed, thin, tall like a male palm tree (*ʿatīq*), hook-nosed, lean-faced, sunken-eyed, thin-shanked, and strong-thighed. He used to

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750. Umm Farwah, Abū Bakr's much younger half-sister, the wife of al-Ashʿath b. Qays al-Kindī and mother of his children, Muḥammad, Isḥāq, Ismāʿīl, Ḥubābah, and Quraybah. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 249; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 482–83; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, IV, 484–85.

751. Text: *ʿan*; read: *b.*, as Ṭabarī, I, 2730, and *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIII.

752. He was a minor Medinan transmitter of mixed reputation. See Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 277; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 17; also, note 699, above.

dye himself with henna and black dye (*katam*). When he died, Abū Quḥāfah was living at Mecca. On hearing the news of his death, he said, "A weighty misfortune!"

Abū Bakr's Genealogy, His Name, and What He Was Known by

Abū Zayd —ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, according to his *isnād*, which has already been mentioned: They agree that the personal name (*ism*) of Abū Bakr was ʿAbdallāh, and that he was called ʿAtīq only owing to his handsomeness. (But some say that he was called that because the Prophet told him, "You are liberated (*ʿatīq*) from the [hell]fire.")

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā b. Ṭalḥah[753] — Muʿāwiyah b. Isḥāq[754] — his father[755] — ʿĀʾishah: She was asked, "Why was Abū Bakr named ʿAtīq?" She answered, "The Prophet looked at him one day and said, "This is the man God has freed from the fire." The personal name of his father was ʿUthmān, his *kunyah*[756] being Abū Quḥāfah.[757] Abū Bakr is ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUthmān b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAmr b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd b. Taym b. Murrah b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr b. Mālik. His mother is Umm al-Khayr bt.

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753. Al-Taymī al-Qurashī, died 164/781, he was a Medinan transmitter with a poor reputation and the grandson of the famous Ṭalḥah of the first civil war. He circulated an anti-ʿAlid tradition, which is not surprising in view of his ancestry. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 164; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 287; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, I, 204; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 254–55.

754. Al-Taymī al-Qurashī, the first cousin of the preceding and also a grandson of Ṭalḥah, he enjoyed a fair reputation as a traditionist. Although he is called a Kūfan, as he may have settled in al-Kūfah, he was certainly of Medinan origin. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 166; VI, 339; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, IV, 134; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 202.

755. Isḥāq b. Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Taymī al-Qurashī, he was a Medinan who was considered a reliable transmitter. By 51/671, he seems already to have moved to al-Kūfah, where he signed the document condemning Ḥujr b. ʿAdī. He also was appointed by the caliph Muʿāwiyah in 56/676 to supervise the collection of taxes in Khurāsān but died at al-Rayy on the way. See Ṭabarī, II, 132, 178; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 166; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 268 (where he is misnamed Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā b. Ṭalḥah); Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 238.

756. The *kunyah* is a special nickname used by Arabs to this day meaning "the father of so-and-so" or "the mother of so-and-so." (Ar. *Abū* for men and *Umm* for women). See EI^2, s.v. Kunya.

757. He is said to have survived as a pagan until the conquest of Mecca in 8/630, whereupon he became a Muslim. He is said to have died in 14/635 at the age of ninety-seven. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ğamharat*, I, 21; II, 578; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 405–6; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 275; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 460–61.

Ṣakhr b. ʿĀmir b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd b. Taym b. Murrah.[758]

Al-Wāqidī: His personal name is ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Quḥāfah, whose personal name is ʿUthmān b. ʿĀmir. His mother is Umm al-Khayr, whose personal name is Salmā bt. Ṣakhr b. ʿĀmir b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd b. Taym b. Murrah.

Hishām, according to what has been transmitted to me from him:
[2134] The personal name of Abū Bakr is ʿAtiq b. ʿUthmān b. ʿĀmir.

Yūnus—Ibn Wahb—Ibn Lahīʿah[759]—ʿUmārah b. Ghaziyyah:[760] I asked ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim about the personal name of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq. He answered, "[It is] ʿAtīq. They were three brothers, the sons of Abū Quḥāfah, ʿAtīq, Muʿtaq, and ʿUtayq."[761]

The Names of Abū Bakr's Wives

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—his informant and those of his authorities whom I have mentioned: In the Jāhiliyyah, Abū Bakr married Qutaylah.[762] (Al-Wāqidī and al-Kalbī agree with him in that. All three say:) She is Qutaylah bt. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. ʿAbd b. Asʿad b. Jābir b. Mālik b. Ḥisl b. ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy. She bore him ʿAbdallāh[763] and Asmāʾ[764]

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758. Of the same Qurashī clan as Abū Quḥāfah, she is reputed to have embraced Islam early and to have died before her husband. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 294; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 447.

759. ʿAbdallāh b. Lahīʿah b. ʿUqbah al-Ḥaḍramī, 96–174/715–90. He was a most famous traditionist of Egypt with a mixed reputation. He served as the first chief judge of Egypt appointed by the caliph 155–64/771–80. *EI*[2], s.v. Ibn Lahīʿa; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 516–17; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 714; Wakīʿ, *Quḍāh*, III, 235–36; Kindī, *Wulāh wa quḍāh*, 368–70; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 475–83; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 373–79.

760. Al-Najjārī al-Anṣārī, d. 140/757, he was a Medinan traditionist with a fair reputation. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 641; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, III, 178; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 422–23.

761. This collocation of three sons with similar names would appear to be a fictional genealogical motif. Abū Bakr's alleged brothers are not otherwise attested to and have no other role in the tradition. They are not mentioned in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 21, nor Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 275.

762. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 169; VIII, 249; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 276, where her genealogy differs somewhat from that given here. As she is scarcely mentioned in the sources and omitted by Ibn Ḥajar, it would appear that she never embraced Islam and thus perhaps died before 610 C.E.

763. He was famous for bringing supplies to the Prophet and Abū Bakr when they were hiding in the cave on the eve of the *hijrah* to Medina. He was injured at the siege of al-Ṭāʾif and died later, in 11/632–33. See Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 930–31, 938; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 485–86; II, 486; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 275, 277; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 283–84. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 21; II, 108, assigns him a completely different mother than Qutaylah al-ʿĀmiriyyah.

764. Nicknamed Dhāt al-Niṭāqayn, she was one of the most important early Mus-

He also married in the Jāhiliyyah Umm Rūmān bt. ʿĀmir b. ʿAmīrah b. Dhuhl b. Duhmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. Kinānah.[765] Certain authorities say that she is Umm Rūmān bt. ʿĀmir b. ʿUwaymir b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAttāb b. Udhaynah b. Subayʿ b. Duhmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. Kinānah. She bore him ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and ʿĀʾishah. All of these four of his children were born in al-Jāhiliyyah from his two wives whom we have named.[766]

Under Islam, he married Asmāʾ bt. ʿUmays, who had previously been the wife of Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib.[767] She is Asmāʾ bt. ʿUmays b. Maʿd b. Taym b. al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb b. Mālik b. Quḥāfah b. ʿĀmir b. [2135]
Rabīʿah b. ʿĀmir b. Mālik b. Nasr b. Wahb Allāh b. Shahrān b. ʿIfris b. Ḥalf b. Aftal, who is Khathʿam. She bore him Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr.

He also married under Islam Ḥabībah bt. Khārijah b. Zayd b. Abī Zuhayr of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj.[768] Her pregnancy had just appeared when Abū Bakr died, and after his death she bore him a daughter, who was named Umm Kulthūm.[769]

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lim women, for she was not only the daughter of Abū Bakr and thus ʿĀʾishah's elder sister, but also the wife of al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām and the mother of several of his children, including ʿAbdallāh, the leader of the Zubayrīs in the second civil war. She died in 73/693. See *EI²*, s.v. Asmāʾ; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 249–55; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 236; 275–76; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, IV, 232–34; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 229–30.

765. Abū Bakr was her second husband. She embraced Islam early, then migrated to Medina, dying there in 6/628. Another genealogy also is offered for her. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 276–77; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 276; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, IV, 448–52; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 450–52.

766. This statement appears to contradict the alleged age of ʿĀʾishah of nine years at the time of the consummation of her marriage to the Prophet in Shawwāl 1 (April–May 623), for which see al-Balādhurī, *Ansab*, I, 409–11; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 359–60. Even if she was born at the end of the Jāhiliyyah period, in 609 C.E., she would have been at least thirteen solar years old by the year 1/622–23.

767. Jaʿfar al-Ṭayyār, the brother of the caliph ʿAlī, c. 590 C.E.–8/629. He was one of the most important early Muslims, leading them in Ethiopia, where he headed the Muslim mission c. 615 C.E.–7/628, until he returned at the time of the Khaybar campaign. Shortly afterward, he was slain at Muʾtah. See *EI²*, s.v. Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 5; II, 254; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 34–41; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 39, 80–81; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 210–13; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 237–38.

768. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 360; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 116, 134; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, IV, 272–74; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 269–70.

769. She was born after her father's death in 13/634. She married Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh, to whom she bore two sons and a daughter, the famous ʿĀʾishah bt. Ṭalḥah. Umm Kulthūm then married ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Makhzūmī, to whom she bore four children. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 462; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 278, 283, 318; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 493.

The Names of His Judges, Secretaries, and Tax Officials

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Mukharrimī[770] — Abū al-Fatḥ Naṣr b. al-Mughīrah[771] — Sufyān — Misʿar:[772] When Abū Bakr took power, Abū ʿUbaydah said to him, "I will take care of finance — meaning taxes (*jizā'*)—for you." ʿUmar said, "I will take care of judicial matters for you." Though ʿUmar stayed [in office] for a year, not even two men came to him.

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad — those whom I have named — certain authorities: Abū Bakr made ʿUmar his judge during his caliphate. He stayed in office for a year, but no one brought any dispute to him.

[Certain authorities]: Zayd b. Thābit[773] served as his secretary. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān provided him with information and reported to him who had come. They say that ʿAttāb b. Asīd was his governor of Mecca. ʿUthmān b. Abī al-ʿĀṣī[774] was in charge of al-Ṭā'if,[775] al-Mu-

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770. Probably this is Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak al-Qurashī, died 254–60/868–74, a Baghdādī traditionist who was the judge of Ḥulwān. See Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, XII, 132, 134; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 272–74. But there is also another, slightly earlier, Mukharrimī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmmār b. Sawādah al-Ghāmidī, 162–242/779–856, a Baghdādī traditionist who moved to al-Mawṣil, who is a possible candidate. On him, see Wakīʿ, *Quḍāh*, III, 185; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 265–66. In view of al-Ṭabarī's own birthdate of 224/839, the former is more likely for him to have quoted directly.

771. Unidentified and mentioned only in this place in al-Ṭabarī.

772. Misʿar b. Kidām b. Ẓahīr al-Hilālī, he was a Kūfan traditionist of excellent reputation who died in 152–56/769–73. He was one of the Murji'ah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 110; II, 409; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 364–65; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 662; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 113–15.

773. Al-Najjārī al-Khazrajī, he was among the most outstanding of the Anṣār and also served as the Prophet's secretary. He is most famous for his claimed role in redacting the ʿUthmānic text of the Qur'ān. Later, he was one of the few Anṣār to support the caliph ʿUthmān. He died between 42/662 and 56/676, possibly in 45/665. See *EI*[1], s.v. Zaid b. Thābit al-Najjārī; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 186; II, 603; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 358–62; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 71–73; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 551–54; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 561–62.

774. Al-Thaqafī, he was the first of his tribe to rise to prominence in Islam. He held the governorship of al-Ṭā'if, his native city, 9–15/630–36, then was governor of al-Baḥrayn and ʿUmān 15–29/636–50, whence he campaigned in Iran. After this, he resided in al-Baṣrah until he died in 51/671 or 55/675. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 119; II, 579; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 508–9; VII, 40; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 72, 107, 123, 134–35, 145–46, 151, 154, 156, 163–64, 167, 171; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 529; *Futūḥ*, 70, 99–100, 387, 432; Yaʿqūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 82, 136, 151, 156, 190; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 460; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 104.

775. One of the largest cities in Saudi Arabia, about 90 km. by road east of Mecca on the top of the Ḥijāz escarpment. In early Islamic times, it was also an important town, the capital of the Thaqīf. See *EI*[1], s.v. Ṭā'if.

hājir b. Abī Umayyah[776] was in charge of Ṣanʿāʾ,[777] Ziyād b. Labīd[778] was in charge of Ḥaḍramawt,[779] Yaʿlā b. Umayyah[780] was in charge of Khawlān,[781] Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī was in charge of Zabīd[782] and Rimaʿ,[783] Muʿādh b. Jabal[784] was in charge of al-Janad,[785] and al- [2136]

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776. Al-Makhzūmī al-Qurashī, he was the first cousin of Khālid b. al-Walīd and half-brother of Umm Salamah, the Prophet's wife. The Prophet appointed him to be in charge of the Kindah and al-Ṣadif, but later he was transferred to Ṣanʿāʾ. See *EI*[1], s.v. Ṣanʿāʾ; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 23; II, 420; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 600; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 316; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 72, 98, 107; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 456, 529; *Futūḥ*, 82–83, 121–23, 125, 127; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 465–66.

777. The capital of Yemen, then as now. See *EI*[1], s.v. Ṣanʿāʾ.

778. Al-Khazrajī al-Anṣārī, he was one of the Medinans who became Muslims before the *hijrah* and subsequently participated in all the Prophet's battles. Appointed governor of Ḥaḍramawt by the Prophet, he may have remained in charge of it until the end of ʿUmar's reign. Later he opposed the caliph ʿUthmān. He died after 40/661. See Ṭabarī, I, 2796; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 192; II, 607; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 600; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 598; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 72, 98, 107; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 83, 120–23, 125; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 81, 136, 148–49, 186; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 564–65; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 176–77; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 558–59.

779. This extremely ancient term, which is even found in the Old Testament (Gen. 10:26), continues to this day to denote the region of eastern Yemen. See *EI*[2], *Supplement*, s.v. Ḥaḍramawt.

780. Al-ʿAdawī al-Tamīmī, he was a confederate of the Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf of the Quraysh and embraced Islam at the conquest of Mecca in 8/630. He was first sent by Abū Bakr to collect the taxes of the district of Khawlān, which had revolted. (Some sources wrongly give Ḥulwān.) He governed Ṣanʿāʾ for a long time, 14–35/635–56. At the Battle of the Camel, he sided with ʿĀʾishah, but he is said to have been killed at Ṣiffīn in 38/658 fighting for ʿAlī. However, this reversal might be apocryphal, as it is omitted by many early sources. See *EI*[1], s.v. Ṣanʿāʾ; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 67; II, 590; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 1012; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 107, 196; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 119, 123; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 136, 181, 186, 205, 210; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, III, 661–64; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 668–69.

781. The name of a Yemenī tribe which also denotes two districts, one southeast of Ṣanʿāʾ, the other northwest of Ṣaʿdah. The former, called *Khawlān al-ʿĀliyah*, appears to be the one meant here. It seems to have contained the city of Dhimār. See *EI*[2], s.v. Khawlān; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 56–57, 345–46; Ibn Khurdādhbih, *Masālik*, 137–38, 142, 148, 192, 248; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 407; V, 69 (Mikhlāf Dhī Jurrah wa Khawlān).

782. This is the still-extant town bearing the same name in the coastal plain of Yemen between Taʿizz and al-Ḥudaydah. See *EI*[1], s.v. Zabīd; Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Taqwīm*, 88–89.

783. This is a wadi north of Zabīd. See *EI*[1], s.v. Zabīd.

784. Al-Khazrajī, he was one of the most famous of the Anṣār, becoming a Muslim before the *hijrah* and subsequently taking part in all the Prophet's battles, until the Prophet sent him to Yemen in 9/631. He died of the plague at al-Uqḥuwānah in the *jund* of al-Urdunn in 18/639 at the age of thirty-eight. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 190; II, 409; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 583–90; VII, 387–89; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 24, 72–73, 130; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 83–88, 165, 179, 186, 278; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, III, 355–61; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 136–41; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 426–27.

785. A district and town of Yemen which lay some 48 *farsakhs* (under 300 km.)

ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī[786] was in charge of al-Baḥrayn. He sent Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh to Najrān.[787] He also sent ʿAbdallāh b. Thawr, one of the Banū Ghawth,[788] to the district of Jurash.[789] He sent ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm al-Fihrī to Dūmat al-Jandal. In Syria were Abū ʿUbaydah, Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah, Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī, each of whom was in command of a division, with Khālid b. al-Walīd in overall command of them.

Abū Jaʿfar: He was generous, lenient, and knowledgeable about the genealogies of the Arabs. Khufāf b. Nadbah[790] (Nadbah is his mother, his father being ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥārith) said in his eulogy of Abū Bakr:[791]

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south of Ṣanʿāʾ, just north of Taʿizz, between Dhimār and Zabīd. It was inhabited by groups of the Kindah and Maʿāfir. See Ibn Khurdādhbih, *Masālik*, 140, 143–44; Muqaddasī, *Taqāsīm*, 53, 70, 87, 90, 105, 113; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 169–70; Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Taqwīm*, 90–91.

786. The confederate of the Umayyads, he embraced Islam early and was appointed by the Prophet c. 8/629 to al-Baḥrayn. ʿUmar then made him governor of al-Baṣrah, but he died on his way there in 14/635, or, less probably, in 21/642. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 576, 600, 607; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 359–63; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 97–98, 107, 110–11, 113, 154; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 95–104, 108; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 84, 136, 147, 151, 156–57; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, III, 146–48; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 497–98.

787. A district in the south of Saudi Arabia in the mountains of ʿAsīr on the border with Yemen. In early Islamic times, it contained inhabitants from the Madhḥij, Hamdān, and Azd. See *EI*[1], s.v. Nadjrān.

788. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 286, shows that this ʿAbdallāh was mentioned only by Sayf, which means that this important report on the governorships of Yemen may be derived from Sayf rather than from al-Madāʾinī's authorities. ʿAbdallāh's equally unknown brother ʿUkkāshah is said to have been the Prophet's governor for the Sakūn and Sakāsik in Yemen, but according to Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 494, this also is only from Sayf. For Sayf's reports on them, see Ṭabarī, I, 1852–53, 1997–2000.

789. Near Najrān, between Bīshah and Ṣaʿdah in ʿAsīr. See Ibn Khurdādhbih, *Masālik*, 133, 135, 188, 248; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 126–27; Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Taqwīm*, 83, 94–95. However, it might make more sense to identify it with the present Baljurashī in Bilād Ghāmid, halfway between al-Ṭāʾif and the Yemenī border. This is because otherwise there is no governorate between al-Ṭāʾif and Najrān, and because Jurash is mentioned as belonging to Mecca rather than to Ṣanʿāʾ, which would seem to place it north of Najrān.

790. Al-Sulamī, his mother was an Abyssinian slave, and he was one of the four famous black Arabs (*aghribat al-ʿArab*). An opponent of al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī, he also fought the Ghaṭafānī tribes of Fazārah and Murrah before Islam. He is said to have been the standard-bearer of the Sulaym at the conquest of Mecca in 8/630 and to have participated in the Battle of Ḥunayn. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 122; II, 348; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, I, 247; III, 226–27; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XVI, 139–46; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 434–37; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 452–53.

791. The last two lines are cited in a variant version in Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, I, 247, along with two other completely different lines. Seven lines are cited in Suyūṭī, *Khulafāʾ*, 86, also including the last two here.

Munificent, the possessor of favor and the possessor of the reprehended,[792]
sharer of benefit, whose courtyard is spacious,
To [his] praise, [there exists] in his house clearly visible
a fine basin whose incoming source does not betray it.[793]
By God, there will not overtake his days
either a barefoot possessor of a waist-wrapper or the possessor of a cloak.[794]
Whoever tries to overtake his days
will be striving alone[795] on a great plain.

Al-Ḥārith — Ibn Saʿd — ʿAmr b. al-Haytham Abū Qaṭan[796] — al-Rabīʿ[797] — Ḥayyān al-Ṣāʾigh:[798] The inscription of Abū Bakr's signet ring was, "How excellent a possessor of power God is!" [2137]

[Certain authorities]: Abū Quḥāfah did not live after Abū Bakr but for six months and some days. He died in al-Muḥarram 14 (25 February–26 March 635) at Mecca at the age of ninety-seven years.

[His Appointment of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as His Successor]

During the illness of which he died, Abū Bakr arranged for ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to succeed him in the caliphate. It is reported that, when he wished to make the arrangement for him to succeed, he called in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf.

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792. This refers perhaps to his power to inflict punishment.

793. The basin refers to his store of beneficence. The incoming source (*izāʾ*) not betraying the basin means that his beneficence is endless and does not dry up. For this difficult verse, see Fayrūzābādī, *Muḥīṭ*, s.v. ʾ-z-y.

794. That is, either the poor or the rich.

795. Text: *al-shadd*; read: *al-shadhdh*, as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIII.

796. Al-Zabīdī, c. 121–98/739–814, he was a Baṣran traditionist of good reputation who transmitted from Abū Ḥanīfah. He was also considered a Qadarī. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 114–15.

797. Probably al-Rabīʿ b. Ṣubayḥ, the *mawlā* of the Tamīm, a Baṣran traditionist who died in Sind in 160/777. He had a mixed reputation. As he transmitted from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, this could owe to Qadarī tendencies. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 277; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 41–42; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 247–48.

798. Abū Jabalah Ḥayyān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Dārimī, he was a Baṣran traditionist who was considered unreliable, probably because of his Qadarī tendencies. He probably was a student of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. See Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, I, 622–23; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, II, 369.

Ibn Sa'd — al-Wāqidī — Ibn Abī Sabrah — 'Abd al-Majīd b. Suhayl[799] — Abū Salamah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān:[800] When death descended on Abū Bakr, he summoned 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf and said, "Inform me about 'Umar." 'Abd al-Raḥmān said, "O successor (*khalīfah*) of God's Messenger, he is, by God, a better man than your opinion of him. But there is a roughness in him." Abū Bakr said, "That is because he sees me as weak. If I entrust him with the affair, he will leave behind much of his present behavior. O Abū Muḥammad, I have done it in haste. It appears to me, if I get angry at the man for something, he shows me his concurrence about it, but if I ease up toward him, he shows me vehemence over it. Do not mention, O Abū Muḥammad, anything of what I have said to you." 'Abd al-Raḥmān said, "Of course."

Then Abū Bakr summoned 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and said, "O Abū 'Abdallāh, inform me about 'Umar." 'Uthmān responded, "You are better informed about him." Abū Bakr said, "Let me decide that, O Abū 'Abdallāh." 'Uthmān said, "O God, my knowledge about him is that what he does in private is better than what he shows openly, and that there is no one like him among us." Abū Bakr said, "May God have mercy on you, O Abū 'Abdallāh. Do not mention anything that I have mentioned to you." 'Uthmān said, "I will do [as you said]." Abū Bakr said to him, "If I abandoned him, I would not neglect you. I do not know whether he would give it up. The choice is
[2138] his whether [or] not to take charge of anything of your affairs. I wish I had been free of [being in charge of] your affairs and that I had been among those who have passed on of your predecessors, O Abū 'Abdallāh. Do not by any means mention anything of what I have said to you about the matter of 'Umar nor about what I have summoned you for."

Ibn Ḥumayd — Yaḥyā b. Wāḍiḥ — Yūnus b. 'Amr — Abū al-Safar: Abū Bakr looked out over the people from his enclosure while

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799. 'Abd al-Majīd b. Suhayl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf al-Zuhrī al-Qurashī, the son of a concubine, he was a Medinan traditionist with a good reputation. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 272; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 380–81.

800. Al-Zuhrī al-Qurashī, he is the son of the great Companion 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf and Tumāḍir bt. al-Aṣbagh al-Kalbiyyah, the princess from Dūmat al-Jandal. He was in charge of justice and security at Medina 49–54/669–74. An important Medinan traditionist, he died in 93–94/712–13 at the age of seventy-two. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 20; II, 106; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 155–57; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 267; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 276, 407; Wakī', *Quḍāh*, I, 116–18; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 115–18.

Asmā' bt. ʿUmays was steadying him with tatooed hands. He said, "Will you be satisfied with him whom I have left as [my] successor over you? For, by God, I do not shun the effort [to reach] the best opinion, nor have I appointed a relative. I have designated ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as my successor; therefore, hear him and obey." They responded, "We hear and obey."

ʿUthmān b. Yaḥyā[801] — ʿUthmān al-Qarqasānī[802] — Sufyān b. ʿUyaynah—Ismāʿīl—Qays: I saw ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb while he was sitting with the people, a piece of writing in his hand, and saying, "O people, hear and obey the speech of the successor of God's Messenger when he said, 'I have not ceased to admonish you.'" He had with him a *mawlā* of Abū Bakr named Shadīd[803] who had a piece of writing on which was the appointment of ʿUmar as successor.

Abū Jaʿfar—al-Wāqidī—Ibrāhīm b. Abī al-Naḍr[804]—Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith:[805] Abū Bakr summoned ʿUthmān to him in private and said to him, "Write, 'In the name of God, the all-Compassionate, the Merciful. This is what Abū Bakr b. Abī Quḥāfah has enjoined on the Muslims. Now then. . . .'" At this point, he fainted, losing consciousness. ʿUthmān wrote, "Now then, I have appointed ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as my successor over you. I have not neglected [2139]
the best among you." Then Abū Bakr awoke and said, "Read [it] to me." When he read [it] to him, Abū Bakr said, "God is Greater," and then went on, "I see that you were afraid that the people would quarrel if I died suddenly in my coma." ʿUthmān said, "Yes." Abū Bakr said, "May God reward you kindly for the sake of Islam and its people!" Abū Bakr confirmed [the text] from this place.

Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā — Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Bukayr[806] — al-

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801. Unidentified, not otherwise mentioned, and possibly confused with the identical next name.

802. He is Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. Yaḥyā b. ʿĪsā al-Ṣayyād, d. 258/872. Although he died fifty-eight solar years after Ibn ʿUyaynah, he is reported to have transmitted from him. See Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, X, 384.

803. Unidentified and not mentioned elsewhere.

804. He is Ibrāhīm b. Sālim b. Abī Umayyah, nicknamed Bardān, the *mawlā* of ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Taymī of the Quraysh. He was a Medinan traditionist with a fair reputation. He lived c. 79–80/698–99 to 153–54/770–71. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 120–21.

805. Al-Taymī al-Qurashī. A Medinan traditionist who was considered trustworthy, he died in 119–21/737–39. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 21; II, 423; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 295; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 524, Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 5–7.

806. The *mawlā* of the Makhzūm of the Quraysh, 154–231/771–845. He was an Egyptian traditionist with a mostly good reputation. He was best known as a major

Layth b. Saʿd[807] — ʿUlwān[808] — Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān — ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf[809] — his father: He went in to Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq during his sickness of which he died and found him worried. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said to him, "You have arisen, praise be to God, cured." Abū Bakr said, "Do you think so?" He answered, "Yes." At this, Abū Bakr said:

> I have entrusted your affairs to him who I feel is the best of you. Each of you is inflamed with anger by that, for each wants the succession to be his instead. You have seen that the world has opened up. When it opens up, it continues to come on until you adopt curtains of silk and pillows of silk brocade, and are pained to lie on Adharī[810] wool as any one of you [now] is pained to sleep on thorns. By God, that any one of you be brought forth to have his head chopped off, for
> [2140] [something] other than the penalty for a mortal sin, would be better for him than plunging into the depths of this life. You will be the first to lead people astray tomorrow, so that you will turn them from the way to the right and left. O guide of the way, it is either the light of dawn or evil![811]

I said to him,

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transmitter of al-Layth's traditions. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 518 (bare mention); Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 796; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, IV, 391; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 237–38.

807. Al-Fahmī, he lived 94–175/713–92. He was one of the great traditionists of Egypt, enjoying an outstanding reputation. His family orginally were Iranians from Iṣfahān. His father was a *mawlā* of the Quraysh who enrolled in the Fahmī regiment of the army in Egypt. Al-Layth himself was born at the village of Qarqashandah, about 25 km. from al-Fusṭāṭ. He visited Iraq in 161/778. In 167/784 his prestige was so great that he when he complained to the caliph about the judge in Egypt, the latter was removed from office. See *EI²*, s.v. al-Layth b. Saʿd; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 517; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 715; Wakīʿ, *Quḍāh*, III, 223, 236; Kindī, *Wulāh wa Quḍāh*, 89–90, 128, 132, 134, 365–66, 371–73, 384; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, IV, 423; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 459–65.

808. ʿUlwān b. Dāwūd, the *mawlā* of Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī, d. 180/796, he was a traditionist whose transmissions were rejected by later scholars. The variant name ʿUlwān b. Ṣāliḥ, which is given for him, owes to a confusion with that of Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, who follows him in this *isnād*. See Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, III, 108–10 (where the report mentioned here is criticized); Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, IV, 188–90.

809. Al-Zuhrī al-Qurashī, he was a minor Medinan traditionist of the great Zuhrī family. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 20; II, 571; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 271; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 473.

810. That is, of Adharbayjān. See note in Cairo ed.

811. Text: *al-baḥr*; read: *al-bujr*. See note in Cairo ed., which has corrected it to *al-bajr*; but see Fayrūzābādī, *Muḥīṭ*, s.v. *b-j-r* for correct vocalization.

> Calm down, may God have mercy on you, for this will only cause you a relapse in your condition. Regarding your matter, the people are [divided] between only two men, either a man who has viewed [things] as you have and is thus with you, or else a man has opposed you and thus is your adviser and companion as you like. We have not known you to desire other than the good. You have not ceased to be a righteous man and one who sets matters aright. You do not grieve for anything from this world.

Abū Bakr said,

> Indeed, I do not grieve for anything from this world, except for three [things] which I did that I wish I had left aside, three that I left aside which I wish I had done, and three about which I wish I had asked God's Messenger. As for the three that I wish I had left aside, I wish that I had not thrown open the house of Fāṭimah[812] to reveal something, even though they had locked it with hostile intent. I wish that I had not burned al-Fujā'ah al-Sulamī[813] and that I had quickly killed him or forbearingly let him go. I wish, on the day of Saqīfat Banī Sā'idah,[814] that I had thrown the matter upon the neck of one of the two men (meaning 'Umar and Abū 'Ubaydah) so that one of them would have become the Commander [of the Faithful] and I would have been his minister (*wazīr*). As for those I left aside, I wish that on the day I was brought al-Ash'ath b. Qays[815] as a prisoner I had cut off

812. The daughter of the Prophet, c. 604 C.E.–11/632. On her, see *EI*², s.v. Fāṭima. The story in question here seems to refer to the attempt to compel 'Alī and Fāṭimah to swear allegiance to Abū Bakr as caliph. What they are hiding here is not clear, however. See Ṭabarī, I, 1822, 1825–26; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 585–87.

813. He is Bujayrah b. Iyās b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd Yālīl, who was burned for treason. See Ṭabarī, I, 1903–5; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 122; II, 228–29; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 117, 123.

814. The meeting hall of the Banū Sā'idah in Medina, where Abū Bakr was acknowledged as caliph upon the death of the Prophet. On it, see Ṭabarī, I, 1817–25, 1837–45; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 656–60; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 615–17; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, V, 8; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 579–84, 589; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 136–38. This enormously important event led to the establishment of the caliphate, with all the political and other consequences that entailed. Abū Bakr here is expressing scruples about the responsibility of government that he has borne.

815. Al-Kindī, he was an important prince in Ḥaḍramawt who embraced Islam in the Prophet's lifetime. After the latter's death, however, he rebelled and had to be sub-

his head, for I imagine that he does not see any evil but that he helps it along. I also wish, when I sent Khālid b. al-Walīd to fight the people of apostasy, that I had stayed at Dhū al-Qaṣṣah,[816] so that if the Muslims had triumphed, they
[2141] would have triumphed, but if they had been defeated, I would have been engaged or [provided] reinforcement. Furthermore, I wish, when I sent Khālid b. al-Walīd to Syria, that I had sent ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to Iraq; thereby, I would have stretched forth both of my hands in God's path. (He stretched forth both his hands.) I also wish that I had asked God's Messenger with whom the government rests, so that no one would contend about it. I wish I had asked him whether the Anṣār have a share in the government. I wish I had asked him about the inheritance of the brother's daughter and the paternal aunt, for I have some doubts in my mind about the two of them.[817]

Yūnus — Yaḥyā: Then ʿUlwān came to us after the death of al-Layth. I asked him about this report. He transmitted it to me just as al-Layth had transmitted [it], letter by letter. He informed me that he himself had transmitted it to al-Layth b. Saʿd. I asked him about his father's name. He informed me he was ʿUlwān b. Dāwūd.

Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Murādī[818] — ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ al-

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dued by force. After he was forgiven, he fought in Syria, then went to Iraq, where he became prominent in al-Kūfah. His tepid support for ʿAlī in the first civil war often was cited as the cause of the latter's defeat. He died in 40–41/661–62, but left behind a great progeny that continued to have influence in al-Kūfah. *EI²*, s.v. al-Ashʿath; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 236; II, 381 (under Maʿdīkarib b. Qais); Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, passim; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 22–23; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 228; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 51–52; Crone, *Slaves*, 110.

816. A place about 38 km. from Medina on the way to al-Rabadhah. From there Abū Bakr had dispatched his armies in all directions to fight against the Riddah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 366.

817. The rights of the brother's daughter or the paternal aunt to inherit are not dealt with in the relevant Qurʾānic verses, Qurʾān 4: 11–12, 176. This problem considerably exercised the minds of early Muslim legal specialists and is treated in various books of *fiqh*. A very detailed treatment can be found in Ibn Qudāmah, *Mughnī*, VI, 317–26, 329–35.

818. Possibly this is Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf al-Tirmidhī, who is specifically reported to have transmitted from ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ al-Miṣrī. This is despite the fact that this Tirmidhī has al-Sulamī rather than al-Murādī for his tribal *nisbah*, according to the *rijāl* books. He is considered reliable and died in 280/893, so that he could have transmitted to al-Ṭabarī. See Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, III, 484; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 256; IX, 62–63.

Miṣrī[819] — al-Layth — ʿUlwān b. Ṣāliḥ[820] — Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān — Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf[821] — Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq: Then he reported a similar version. Ḥumayd did not say about it that he got it from his father.

Abū Jaʿfar: Before he became occupied with the affairs of the Muslims, Abū Bakr was a merchant. His dwelling was at al-Sunḥ,[822] then he moved to Medina.

Al-Ḥārith — Ibn Saʿd — Muḥammad b. ʿUmar — Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Sabrah — Marwān [b. ʿUthmān] b.[823] Abī Saʿīd b. al-Muʿallā[824] — Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab; Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm[825] — his father — ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣabīḥah al-Taymī[826] — his father;[827] ʿUbaydallāh[828] b. ʿUmar[829] — Nāfiʿ[830] — Ibn ʿUmar; Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh — al-Zuhrī — ʿUrwah — ʿĀʾishah; Abū Qudāmah ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad — Abū Wajzah — his father; and another as well, who had transmitted to me some of it (the reports of certain of them are mixed with the reports of others): ʿĀʾishah said: [2142]

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819. The *mawlā* of the Juhaynah, d. 222–23/837–38, he was the secretary of al-Layth b. Saʿd and was an Egyptian traditionist with a mixed reputation. Though he is said to have been born in 173/789; that is impossible, as it precedes his patron's death by only two years. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 518; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 787; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 440–45; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 256–61.

820. A mistake for b. Dāwūd.

821. Al-Zuhrī al-Qurashī, yet another of the great Medinan family of traditionists. He died in 95/714 or, less probably, 105/723, at the age of seventy-three. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 153–55; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 266; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 489; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 45–46.

822. A district in Medina less than 2 km. south from the Prophet's house and city center. At that time, it contained the dwellings of the Ḥārith of the Khazraj. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 265; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 152 (map), 167.

823. Text: *ʿan*; read: *b.*, as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIII.

824. Al-Khazrajī al-Anṣārī, he was a minor Medinan transmitter with a mixed reputation. See Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, IV, 92; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 95.

825. Al-Taymī al-Qurashī, died 151/768, he was a Medinan traditionist with a poor reputation. See Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, IV, 218–19; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 368–69.

826. Unidentified and appears only here in al-Ṭabarī.

827. Unidentified.

828. Text: *ʿAbdallāh*; read: *ʿUbaydallāh*, as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIII.

829. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ b. ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-ʿAdawī al-Qurashī, he was one of the seven great jurists of Medina. He died in 147/764. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 362; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 651; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 38–40.

830. The *mawlā* of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar, he is the most famous transmitter of Ibn ʿUmar's traditions and was considered the exemplar of the highest reliability by al-Bukhārī. He died in 117–20/735–38. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 412–15.

My father's dwelling was at al-Sunḥ with his wife Ḥabībah bt. Khārijah b. Zayd b. Abī Zuhayr of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj. He had built himself a room from palm leaves. He did not add to that up to the time he moved to his dwelling in Medina. He continued to reside there at al-Sunḥ for six months after he had received the oath of allegiance. He would go by foot to Medina. Occasionally, he would ride on a horse he had, wearing a waist wrapper and a worn-out cloak. He would come to Medina to lead the people in public worship. When he finished the evening worship (*ʿishāʾ*), he would return to his family at al-Sunḥ. When he was present, he would lead the people in their worship; when he was not present, ʿUmar would lead them in it.

He would spend Friday morning at al-Sunḥ dyeing his head and his beard, then he would go forth according to the time of the Friday worship, in which he would lead the people. He was a man of commerce. He would go forth early every day to the market, where he would sell and buy. He had a flock of sheep that would go home to him. Sometimes, he would go forth with it himself; sometimes, it would be taken care of, so that it was pastured for him. He also would milk the sheep for the community. When he was rendered the oath of allegiance as caliph, a girl from the community said to him, "Now the ewes of our house will not be milked for us." Abū Bakr
[2143] heard her and said, "On the contrary. By my life I will most definitely milk them for you. I certainly hope that what I have entered into will not turn me away from my previous habit." When he would milk for them, he sometimes would say to a girl from the community, "O girl, would you like me to tend [your sheep] for you, or to leave them to pasture by themselves?" Sometimes she would say, "Tend [them]"; other times she would say, "Leave [them]." Whichever of those she said, he would do.

He remained like that at al-Sunḥ for six months, then he came down to Medina to reside in it and look after his responsibilities. He said, "No, by God, trading will not set right the affairs of the people. Only my devoting myself exclusively to them and looking after their business will set them aright. My dependents must have what will make them prosper." Thus, he abandoned trade and expended of the Muslims' money enough to make him prosper and make his dependents prosper day by day.

He would also make the greater and the lesser pilgrimages. That which they had allocated for him every year was six thousand dirhams. When death came to him, he said, "Give back what we have of the Muslims' money, for I will not acquire anything of this property. My land which is in such-and-such a place is given to the Muslims as compensation for what I have acquired of their property." He transferred that to ʿUmar, along with milch camels, a slave who was a blade whetter, and velvet worth five dirhams. ʿUmar said, "He has caused troubles for those after him."

Abū Zayd—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—those whom I have mentioned his transmitting from them: Abū Bakr said, "Figure out how much I have spent from the treasury since I was put in charge and settle it for me." They found it amounted to eighty thousand dirhams during his rule.

Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq — al-Zuhrī — al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad—Asmāʾ bt. ʿUmays: Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh went in to [see] Abū Bakr and said, "Have you made ʿUmar your successor [as ruler] over the people, even though you have seen the way the people are treated by him [even] when you are with him? How then will he [2144] be if he is alone with them, after you have met your Lord and He asks you about those you were responsible for?" Abū Bakr, who was lying down, said, "Sit me up," and they sat him up. He then answered Ṭalḥah, "Is it with God that you frighten me (or is it with God that you scare me)? When I meet God my Lord, and He questions me, I will say, 'I have left the best of your people as a successor in charge of your people.'"

Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq — Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [b. ʿAbdallāh] b. al-Ḥuṣayn:[831] The like of that.

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831. Al-Tamīmī, he is an unidentified transmitter cited in Ṭabarī, I, 1205, 1237, 1454, 2182, and here. He also appears in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 99, 424. In all cases, he transmits to Ibn Isḥāq, sometimes from ʿUrwah, and thus is probably a Medinan.

The Caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb

The Events of the Year

13 (cont'd)

(March 7, 634–February 24, 635)

Abū Ja'far: We have already mentioned the time of Abū Bakr's appointment of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [as his successor] in the caliphate, as well as the time of Abū Bakr's death, and [said] that 'Umar led the prayer over him, and that he was buried on the night of his death before the people arose. When 'Umar arose on the morning after that night, the first thing he did and said was [as follows]:

Abū Kurayb — Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh[832] — al-A'mash[833] — Jāmi' b. Shaddād[834] — his father:[835] When 'Umar was made caliph, he climbed the pulpit to say, "I am going to say words to which you must say 'Amen.'"

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832. The *mawlā* of Wāṣil b. Ḥayyān al-Aḥdab al-Asadī, 95–100/714–19 to 192–94/808–10, he was a Kūfan traditionist with a good reputation. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 386; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 34–37.

833. Abū Muḥammad Sulaymān b. Mihrān, the *mawlā* of the Kāhil of the Asad, 60–61/680–81 to 148/765, he was a famous Kūfan traditionist of Iranian origin. See *EI²*, s.v. al-A'mash; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 342–44; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 222–26.

834. Al-Muḥāribī, died 118–28/736–46, he was a Kūfan traditionist of good reputation. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 318; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 572; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 56–57.

835. Unidentified.

The first speech that ʿUmar uttered when he was made caliph was [as follows]:

Abū al-Ṣāʾib[836] — Ibn Fuḍayl[837] — ʿIyāḍ[838] — Ḍirār[839] — Ḥuṣayn al-Murrī:[840] ʿUmar said, "The likeness of the Arabs is only to a camel led by the nose following its leader; therefore, let its leader look where he leads. As for me, by the Lord of the Kaʿbah, I will indeed bring them along on the road."

ʿUmar — ʿAlī — ʿĪsā b. Yazīd[841] — Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān: The first letter written by ʿUmar when he took charge was to ʿAbū ʿUbaydah, putting him in charge of Khālid's army and [saying],

[2145] I admonish you to fear God, Who lasts while what is other than Him perishes, Who has guided us from losing our way and brought us forth from the darkness to the light. I have put you in charge of the army of Khālid b. al-Walīd. Therefore, take on their work, which is a responsibility for you. Do not advance the Muslims to destruction hoping for spoil,

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836. Salm b. Janādah b. Khālid al-Suwāʾī of the Suwāʾah b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah, 174–254/790–868, he was a Kūfan traditionist of good reputation. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 128–29.

837. Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. Ghazwān, the *mawlā* of the Ḍabbah, d. 194/810, he was a Kūfan traditionist of good reputation who was a Shīʿī supporter and even considered to be an extreme Shīʿī. He was said to be of Greek descent. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 389; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, IV, 9–10; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 405–6.

838. Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIII, suggests this name should be omitted, as it is in the *isnād* in Ṭabarī, I, 2735, but the name also could have dropped out of the latter *isnād*. The sixty-year gap in the death dates of the Ibn Fuḍayl and the Ḍirār in this *isnād* might suggest a necessary intermediate link. On the other hand, Ibn Ḥajar's biographies of Ibn Fuḍayl and Ḍirār both state that Ḍirār transmitted directly to Ibn Fuḍayl, and no suitable ʿIyāḍ can be identified who fits between them. See the preceding and following notes.

839. Abū Sinān Ḍirār b. Murrah al-Shaybānī, d. 132/750, he was a Kūfan traditionist with a good reputation. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 338; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 457.

840. Ṭabarī, *Indices*, 141, proposes that this may be al-Ḥuṣayn b. al-Ḥumām al-Murrī the poet, but this identification is doubtful, as this al-Ḥuṣayn seems to have barely survived into the Islamic era, for his son sought largesse from Muʿāwiyah. Such a person certainly would not have been able to transmit to Ḍirār b. Murrah, and it also is unlikely that he would be a source for ʿUmar's sayings. Thus, Ḥuṣayn al-Murrī here must remain unidentified. On the poet, see Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XII, 123–29.

841. Al-Laythī, d. before 179/795, he was a Medinan transmitter of history, but his *ḥadīth* was rejected. Under al-Mahdī, he was accused of Qadarī tendencies. Later, he was brought by the Caliph al-Hādī to Baghdād, where he entertained that ruler and was lavishly rewarded. See Ṭabarī, III, 534, 565–66, 589–90, 592–93; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 36; II, 358; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 171; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, III, 327–28; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, IV, 408–10.

nor make them camp in a place before you [first] scout it out for them and learn from where it might be attacked. Do not send out a raiding party except in a company of men. Do not by any means expose the Muslims to destruction. God has tested you through me and has tested me through you. Therefore, shut off your sight from this world and divert your heart from it. Do not at all let it destroy you as it destroyed those before you, whose deaths you have seen.

[The Expedition of Fiḥl[842] *and the Conquest of Damascus]*

ʿUmar—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—those whom I have mentioned their transmitting from them where I began the section on Abū Bakr: Shaddād b. Aws b. Thābit al-Anṣārī,[843] Maḥmiyah b. Jazʾ,[844] and Yarfaʾ[845] brought [the news of] Abū Bakr's death to Syria. They hid the news from the people until the Muslims had won, when they were at al-Yāqūṣah[846] fighting their Roman enemies. That was in Rajab (31 August–29 September 634). They informed Abū ʿUbaydah about the death of Abū Bakr, his appointment to take charge of the war in Syria, and ʿUmar's subordinating the [other] commanders to him and removing Khālid b. al-Walīd.

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842. Now Ṭabaqat Fiḥl in Jordan, it lies east of the Jordan River, about 12 km. southeast of Baysān. Fiḥl was the ancient Pella of the Dekapolis and had remained one of the more important towns in the area. Extensive ruins exist and are being excavated. See *EI*², s.v. Fiḥl. For the battle, see Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 104; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 189–95.

843. Al-Najjārī al-Khazrajī. The nephew of the Prophet's poet Ḥassān b. Thābit, he was a Companion of the Prophet, then went forth to participate in the conquest of Syria. In 41/662 or 58–59/678–79, he died at the age of seventy-five (or ninety-five) and was buried in Jerusalem, where his family remained prominent and where his tomb later became an object of veneration. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 186; II, 522; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 401; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 274; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 182; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, II, 135; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 54; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 139–40; Mujīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 63.

844. Al-Zabīdī, the confederate of the Jumaḥ of the Quraysh, he was an early Muslim, migrated to Ethiopia, fought at Badr, and is doubtfully said to have participated in the conquest of Egypt. He often was responsible for dividing the booty. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 270; II, 383; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 410, 524, 697, 780; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 328; II, 361; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 64, 75, 133; IV, 59, 198–99, 261; VIII, 277; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, III, 495; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 388.

845. The *mawlā* of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and his chamberlain. See Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 158; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 672–73.

846. A variant of al-Wāqūṣah.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: When the Muslims had finished with Ajnādayn, they went on toward Fiḥl in the land of al-Urdunn, where the Roman rejectionists (*rāfiḍah*)[847] had gathered. The Muslims were under their commanders, Khālid b. al-Walīd being in charge of the army's vanguard. When the Romans had descended on Baysān,[848] they broke the dams of its streams so that they would
[2146] overflow. Because it was a ground having a seasonal marsh, it became mud. After that, they encamped at Fiḥl, Baysān being between Palestine and al-Urdunn. When the Muslims swept over it, not knowing what the Romans had done, their horses became mired in the mud, so that they met with difficulty in it, but then God delivered them. Baysān was named "the place of thick mud" (*dhāt al-radaghah*) owing to what the Muslims encountered in it. Then they rushed upon the Romans, who were at Fiḥl. They fought, and the Romans were defeated. The Muslims entered Fiḥl, while the Roman rejectionists fled to Damascus. [The Battle of] Fiḥl was in Dhū al-Qaʿdah of the year 13 (27 December 634 – 25 January 635), six months into the caliphate of ʿUmar.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf led the people in that pilgrimage.

Then the Muslims went on to Damascus, Khālid b. al-Walīd being in charge of the vanguard of the troops. The Romans had gathered at Damascus under a man called Bāhān. ʿUmar had removed Khālid b. al-Walīd and appointed Abū ʿUbaydah to command all the troops. The Muslims and the Romans met in the environs of Damascus and fought a severe battle. Then God defeated the Romans, so that the Muslims made gains at their expense. The Romans went inside Damascus and shut its gates. The Muslims settled down before it, besieging it, until Damascus was conquered and its inhabitants payed the *jizyah*. Meanwhile, the letter had come to Abū ʿUbaydah appointing him and removing Khālid. Abū ʿUbaydah was too embarrassed to read the letter to Khālid until Damascus had been taken and the peace agreement made by Khālid, the document being written in his name. When Damascus made peace on terms, Bāhān, the Roman commander who had fought the Muslims, withdrew to Her-

847. That is, those who rejected paying the *jizyah*, preferring to fight.

848. An important town in Palestine, the ancient Skythopolis, the only one of the Dekapolis cities to be located west of the Jordan, it lay some 30 km. south of Lake Tiberias. Like Fiḥl, it remained one of the important towns of the region. See *EI*^{2}, s.v. Baysān.

akleios. The fall of Damascus was in the year 14 in Rajab (21 August – 19 September 635). Abū ʿUbaydah publicly revealed his appointment as commander and Khālid's dismissal when the Muslims had met, they and the Romans, at a town called ʿAyn Fiḥl between Palestine and al-Urdunn and fought a hard battle at it. Then [2147]
the Romans withdrew to Damascus.

As for Sayf, according to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū ʿUthmān—Khālid and ʿUbādah: He mentions in his report that the post came to the Muslims from Medina with [the news of] the death of Abū Bakr and the appointment of Abū ʿUbaydah as commander while they were at al-Yarmūk, the fighting having started between them and the Romans. He told a different story of al-Yarmūk and Damascus from what Ibn Isḥāq told. I am going to mention some of what he has related about that.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad—Abū ʿUthmān—Abū Saʿīd: When ʿUmar took office, he was pleased to let Khālid b. Saʿīd and al-Walīd b. ʿUqbah enter Medina, although Abū Bakr had forbidden them [to do so] owing to the flight they had made. ʿUmar also sent them back to Syria, saying, "Let [word of your] sufficiency[849] reach me about you; I am putting you to the test. Join whichever of our commanders you like." They joined the troops, with whom they were tried and showed their adequacy.

The Report about Damascus According to Sayf

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū ʿUthmān—Khālid and ʿUbādah: When God had defeated the army of al-Yarmūk and the forces of al-Wāqūṣah had fallen to pieces, when the dividing of the spoils had been completed, the fifths sent off, and the delegations dispatched, Abū ʿUbaydah appointed Bashīr b. Kaʿb b. Ubayy al-Ḥimyarī as his [2148]
deputy in charge of al-Yarmūk, so that he would not be taken unawares by a countermaneuver, nor would the Romans cut him off from reinforcements.[850] Abū ʿUbaydah went along until he came to al-Ṣuffar, wishing to pursue the defeated remnants and not knowing whether they were massing together or splitting up. The information came to him that they had recoiled to Fiḥl. The news also came

849. Text: ʿ*anā*ʾ; read: *ghanā*ʾ, as Cairo ed. and Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIII.

850. Or, "supplies."

to him that reinforcements had come to the forces at Damascus from Ḥimṣ. Because he did not know whether to start with Damascus or with Fiḥl in the country of al-Urdunn, he wrote to ʿUmar about that and waited for the answer, staying at al-Ṣuffar. When [news of] the victory of al-Yarmūk came to ʿUmar, he confirmed the commanders in the offices to which Abū Bakr had appointed them, except for what happened with ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī and Khālid b. al-Walīd. He put Khālid under Abū ʿUbaydah's command and ordered ʿAmr to aid the people by bringing the warfare to Palestine and taking charge of the campaign in it.

As for Ibn Isḥāq, he states regarding the subject of Khālid and ʿUmar's dismissal of him [the following].

Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq: ʿUmar dismissed Khālid only owing to words that Khālid had spoken — according to what they claim. ʿUmar did not cease being wroth with him and disliking his behavior during the whole time of Abū Bakr, owing to his battle with Ibn Nuwayrah and what he had done in fighting against him. When ʿUmar succeeded to the caliphate, the first words he spoke were [those of] Khālid's dismissal. He said, "He will never govern any province for me." ʿUmar wrote to Abū ʿUbaydah, "If Khālid admits that he is a liar, then he remains commander over what he has charge of. But if he does not admit that he is a liar, then you are commander of what he had charge of. Then pull his turban off his head and confiscate half of his property."

[2149] When Abū ʿUbaydah mentioned that to Khālid, he said, "Grant me a delay so that I may consult with my sister regarding my affair." Abū ʿUbaydah did so. Khālid went in to his sister Fāṭimah bt. al-Walīd,[851] who was the wife of al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, and mentioned that to her. She commented, "By God, ʿUmar does not like you at all. He only wants you to admit that you are a liar in order to remove you." At this, he kissed her head, saying, "You have spoken the truth, by God." Thus, Khālid continued as he had before, refusing to call himself a liar. Bilāl, the *mawlā* of Abū Bakr,[852] went to Abū ʿUbay-

851. She had embraced Islam in 8/630. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 261; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 303, 322; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 385.

852. Bilāl b. Rabāḥ, the famous Ethiopian freedman of Abū Bakr, he is best known as the first *muʾadhdhin* in Islam. He was one of the early Muslims of the Meccan period. Later, he migrated to Syria, where he died at Dārayyā in 18/639 or 20–21/641–42. See *EI²*, s.v. Bilāl b. Rabāḥ; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, passim; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 317–18, 506–7, 509, 588–89, 632, 682; II, 207, 336, 340, 413, 632; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 385–86; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 141–44; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 165.

dah to ask, "What have you been commanded regarding Khālid?" Abū ʿUbaydah replied, "I have been commanded to pull of his turban and to divide his property with him." He then split his property with him until there remained only his two sandals [to be divided]. Abū ʿUbaydah said, "This one is useless without the other one." Khālid said, "Certainly. I am not one to disobey the Commander of the Faithful; therefore, do what seems appropriate to you." Thus, he took one sandal and gave him the other sandal. Then Khālid came to ʿUmar at Medina after his dismissal.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. ʿAmr[853] b. ʿAṭāʾ[854]—Sulaymān b. Yasār:[855] Whenever ʿUmar passed by Khālid, he would say, "O Khālid, bring forth the property of God from under your buttocks!" Khālid would say, "By God, I have no property." When ʿUmar persisted, Khālid said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, what is the value of what I have gained under your authority? Forty thousand dirhams." ʿUmar said, "I hereby take that from you for forty thousand dirhams." Khālid said, "It is yours." ʿUmar said, "I accept it." Khālid did not have property other than military equipment and slaves. An account of that was made, and its value reached eighty thousand dirhams. ʿUmar took half of that, giving him forty thousand dirhams. He took the money. ʿUmar was told, "O Commander of the Faithful, if only you would return [2150]
Khālid's property to him." ʿUmar said, "I am only a trader for the Muslims. By God, I will never return it to him." ʿUmar felt that he had avenged himself on Khālid when he did that to him.

The continuation of the report of Sayf—Abū ʿUthmān—Khālid and ʿUbādah: When ʿUmar received the letter from Abū ʿUbaydah [asking] about how he should begin, he wrote to him:

> Now then, begin with Damascus and march against it, for it is the fortress of Syria and the capital of their kingdom. Divert the forces at Fiḥl with cavalry that will be before them at their throats, and [likewise divert] the forces of Pal-

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853. Text: *ʿUmar*; read: *ʿAmr*.

854. Al-ʿĀmirī al-Qurashī. It also is said, less probably, that he was a *mawlā* of the ʿĀmir. He was said to be a reputable transmitter. He died in Medina in 125/743 at the age of eighty-three. He is said to have been a Qadarī. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 425; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 546; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 373–75.

855. The *mawlā* of Maymūnah al-Hilāliyyah, the Prophet's wife, he was one of the seven famous jurists of Medina. He lived 24–27/645–48 to 94–109/713–27. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 174–75; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 479, 499; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 228–30.

estine and Ḥimṣ. If God conquers Fiḥl before Damascus, then that is what we would like. If its conquest is delayed until God conquers Damascus, then put enough forces in Damascus to secure it and then leave it, going, you and the rest of the commanders, until you attack Fiḥl. If God grants you victory, then go away, you and Khālid, to Ḥimṣ. Leave behind Shuraḥbīl and ʿAmr, charging them with al-Urdunn and Palestine. The commander of each district and army is to be in charge of the troops until they exit from his province.

Abū ʿUbaydah sent off to Fiḥl ten commanders: Abū al-Aʿwar al-Sulamī, ʿAbd ʿAmr b. Yazīd b. ʿĀmir al-Jurashī,[856] ʿĀmir b. Ḥathmah,[857] ʿAmr b. Kulayb of the Yaḥṣub,[858] ʿUmārah b. al-Ṣaʿiq b.
[2151] Kaʿb,[859] Ṣayfī b. ʿUlbah[860] b. Shāmil,[861] ʿAmr b. Ḥabīb b. ʿAmr,[862] Libdah b. ʿĀmir b. Khathʿamah,[863] Bishr b. ʿIṣmah,[864] and ʿUmārah b. Makhshī,[865] the troops' leader. With each man were five [subordinate] commanders. The leaders were made up of the Companions, so that they would not find anyone who would take that [post] away from them. They went from al-Ṣuffar until they encamped near Fiḥl. When the Romans saw that the troops were making for them, they unleashed the waters around Fiḥl, so that the ground became muddy and then thick with mud. The Muslims were perplexed by that. Eighty thousand horsemen were shut up in it by the Muslims. The

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856. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 430.

857. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 249 (under b. Khaythamah).

858. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 12.

859. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place.

860. Or, ʿUlyah.

861. Muʿāwiyah appointed him governor of Qinnasrīn, according to Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 128. However, it is doubtful whether Qinnasrīn was separated from Ḥimṣ until late in Yazīd I's reign. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 156; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 197.

862. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place.

863. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 325.

864. Al-Muzanī. A Companion of the Prophet, he was a Kūfan who joined Muʿāwiyah and fought for him at Ṣiffīn. See Ṭabarī, I, 3305–6; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 88; II, 227; Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 269–70, 278; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 147–48; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 153; *Lisān*, II, 26–27.

865. Text: Mukhashsh[in]; read: Makhshī, as on p. 91, above.

first besieged forces in Syria were the troops of Fiḥl, then the troops of Damascus.

Abū ʿUbaydah sent out Dhū al-Kalāʿ until he was [positioned] between Damascus and Ḥimṣ as a covering force. He also sent out ʿAlqamah b. Ḥakīm[866] and Masrūq, who were [positioned] between Damascus and Palestine. [Their] overall commander was Yazīd, who set out. Abū ʿUbaydah also departed from al-Marj. He sent Khālid b. al-Walīd forward. In command of his two wings were ʿAmr and Abū ʿUbaydah [himself]. ʿIyāḍ commanded the cavalry, and Shuraḥbīl was in charge of the infantry. They advanced on Damascus, whose defenders were commanded by Nasṭās b. Nasṭūrus.[867] They besieged the forces of Damascus, camping in its environs. Abū ʿUbaydah was in charge of one side, ʿAmr another, and Yazīd yet another.

Herakleios at that time was at Ḥimṣ, the city of Ḥimṣ being between him and them. The Muslims besieged the forces of Damascus for about seventy days, putting them under a hard siege, with [2152]
marches, exchanges of fire, and ballistas, while the defenders held the city hoping for aid. Herakleios was near them, and they had asked him for reinforcements, although Dhū al-Kalāʿ was between the Muslims and Ḥimṣ, one night's journey from Damascus, as if he was heading for Ḥimṣ. The cavalry of Herakleios came to aid the forces of Damascus, but the cavalry that was with Dhū al-Kalāʿ caused them grief and distracted them from the [main] Muslim force, so that they drew back and encamped before him. Meanwhile, the forces in Damascus were still in the same condition. When the forces of Damascus were certain that the reinforcements would not reach them, they became cowardly, weak, and disheartened. On the other hand, the Muslims became more desirous of [conquering] them. Before that, the Muslims had viewed their campaigns as raids: if cold set in, the men went back.

The Pleiades settled [in the west][868] while the enemy were persisting [in resistance]. At that point, their hope was cut off, and they re-

866. Al-Firāsī al-Kinānī. He later settled at al-Ramlah in Palestine and supported Muʿāwiyah at Ṣiffīn. See Ṭabarī, I, 2399–2400, 2407, 2501, 3058; Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 507; Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, II, 199; Donner, *Conquests*, 136, 139, 349.

867. Text: Nusṭūs; read: Nasṭūrus, as Cairo ed., but with first vowel changed from *u* to *a*. This man is mentioned only by Sayf.

868. Ar. *saqaṭ al-najm*. For this meaning, see Fayrūzābādī, *Muḥīṭ*, s.v. *n-j-m*. This yields a date of about Jumādā I 14/June–July 634 for the siege being at least started

gretted having entered Damascus. A child was born to the *patrikios* who was in charge of the troops in Damascus. He held a celebration for it, so that the people ate and drank, neglecting their posts. None of the Muslims noticed that, except for what came from Khālid, for he did not sleep nor allow [his men] to sleep. Nothing of the affairs of the enemy was concealed from him; his spies were intelligent, and he was interested in what was around him. He had equipped himself with ropes in the form of ladders and lassoes.

When it was the evening of that day, he rushed forth with troops he had of those whom he had brought against the enemy. He led them at the start of his day, he and al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr, Madhʿūr b. ʿAdī, and those of his companions who were like him. They said, "When you hear our cry of 'God is Greater' on the wall, climb up to us and rush the gate." When he came to the gate that was near him, he and his advancing companions, they threw the ropes at the battlements. On their backs were waterskins on which they crossed their trench. When two lassoes of theirs were secured, al-Qaʿqāʿ and Madhʿūr
[2153] climbed them. Then they did not leave any rope but that they secured it and the lassoes to the battlements. The place from which they stormed in was the most impregnable place around Damascus, as most of it was water, and it was the hardest to enter. They came all together for that, so that none of those who had joined Khālid remained but that he had climbed [the wall] or drawn near the gate, until, when they had sat upon the wall, he sent down almost all his companions and also went down himself, leaving behind a force to defend that spot for those ascending. He then ordered them to shout "God is Greater."

When those on top of the wall shouted, the Muslims rushed at the gate, while many men turned to the ropes, leaping onto them. Khālid reached the first of those before him and slew them. After that, he went down to the gate and killed the gatekeepers. The forces of the city were aroused and the rest of the people terrified. They took to their posts, not knowing what was the matter. The forces on

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and in progress. Such a date would appear to contradict Donner's conclusion about the "reconstruction" of Abū ʿUthmān transmitted by Sayf giving Shawwāl/November–December as the date of Damascus's fall after a siege of about seventy days, for that would be impossibly late. See Donner, *Conquests*, 137, 317 n. 224. Rather, the settling of the Pleiades in the west would seem to support the more usual dating of Rajab/August–September as the date of Damascus's fall, as given by Ibn Isḥāq below, p. 169, and al-Wāqidī in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 146.

each side were occupied with those before them. Khālid b. al-Walīd and those with him cut the locks on the gates with swords to open [them] for the Muslims. The entering Muslims advanced on the enemy until not a[n enemy] fighter remained of those at Khālid's gate that had not been killed. When Khālid had pressed the attack against those before him and obtained by force what he wanted from them, those who escaped retreated to the forces at the gates before the other Muslim commanders.

The Muslims had called on them to divide the city into halves, but they refused and banished [the offer]. Therefore the Muslims were simply astonished when the enemy openly professed to them [a desire] for peace. The Muslims responded favorably to them and accepted [it] from them. The enemy opened the gates for them, saying, "Enter, and protect us from the troops at that gate." Thus the forces before each gate entered under a peace agreement for what adjoined them, and Khālid entered into what adjoined him by force. Khālid and the [other] commanders met in the middle of the city; this one slaying indiscriminately and plundering, and this [other] in peace and seeking to quiet. They considered Khālid's section as if it was under a peace agreement, so that is was treated as territory taken [2154]
peacefully.[869]

The peace agreement with Damascus was conditioned on the division of the money and the real estate, and [the payment of] a dīnār for each person. The Muslims divided the booty, Khālid's troops being treated on an equal footing with the troops of the rest of the commanders. Each household and those who remained in the peace agreement had to pay a *jarīb* [of grain] for every *jarīb* of land. What had belonged to the kings and those who went away with them was held in trust as the common property of the conquerors (*fay'*).[870]

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869. Territory taken peacefully enjoyed far more rights than that taken by force. The implication here is that the Iraqis were cheated out of their rightful spoils in Syria. On the difference between territory taken peacefully and that taken by force, see Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 29; Hall, *Termination of Hostilities*, 3–4 and passim.

870. This means that the government did not allow the conquering troops to divide the land as booty among themselves and then scatter throughout the countryside as proprietors, which would have destroyed their cohesion and military effectiveness. Instead, the government held the land in trust and paid the troops only fixed stipends as their share of the income. This enabled the government to maintain control over the land and the troops, the latter being kept in the military cities (*amṣār*) where they could be mobilized quickly. See *EI²*, s.v. Fay'; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 29–31, 43–44; Shaban, *History*, I, 46–50.

They gave a share to Dhū al-Kalāʿ and those with him, to Abū al-Aʿwar and those with him, and to Bashīr and those with him.

They also sent the good news to ʿUmar. ʿUmar's reply came to Abū ʿUbaydah, [saying,] "Send the Iraqi troops to Iraq, and command them to hurry to Saʿd b. Mālik." Thus, he put Hāshim b. ʿUtbah in command of the Iraqi troops, al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr in charge of the vanguard, and ʿAmr b. Mālik al-Zuhrī[871] and Ribʿī b. ʿĀmir[872] in charge of the two wings. After Damascus, they made the journey to Saʿd. Hāshim set out for Iraq with the Iraqi forces. The commanders set off toward Fiḥl. Hāshim's troops were ten thousand, except for those who had been lost, so that they made up their total from others who had not been of them [originally], among them Qays and al-Ashtar. ʿAlqamah and Masrūq set out for Jerusalem,[873] encamping on the way to it. At Damascus, a number of the leaders of the Yemenīs remained with Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, including ʿAmr b. Shimr b. Ghaziyyah,[874] Sahm b. al-Musāfir b. Hazmah,[875] and Mushāfiʿ b. ʿAbdallāh b. Shāfiʿ.[876] After Damascus had been captured, Yazīd sent Ḍihyah b. Khalīfah al-Kalbī with cavalry to Tadmur and Abū al-Zahrāʾ al-Qushayrī[877]

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871. ʿAmr b. Mālik b. ʿUtbah b. Nawfal b. Uhayb, a cousin Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, he later fought at Jalūlāʾ in 16/637. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 20; II, 179; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 325; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 82, has ʿAmr b. ʿUtbah b. Nawfal as his name.

872. Al-Usayyidī al-Tamīmī, he fought at al-Qādisiyyah and in Persia. See Ṭabarī, I, 2269–70, 2294, 2479, 2554, 2569, 2610, 2619, 2649, 2683–84; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 83; II, 486; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 503; Donner, *Conquests*, 195, 384, 392, 430–31.

873. Here called Īliyāʾ = Aelia Capitolina, the Latin name given to it by the Emperor Hadrian.

874. According to Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 115, he does not seem to have an existence outside of Sayf's traditions, unless he is to be identified with the ʿAmr b. Shimr present at Ṣiffīn in Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, passim. On the other hand, he could be a mistake for ʿAmr b. Ghaziyyah al-Khazrajī, although this latter is not described elsewhere as being in Syria. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 10.

875. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 117.

876. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place.

877. A like-named person elsewhere is a direct informant of Sayf for events connected with Ḥimṣ, as befits his tribal *nisbah*. Because Sayf died after 170/786, this informant would either have to be a different person than the one mentioned in the text here, or else, more probably, Sayf has retrojected the name of his informant back to the early conquests. He also is mentioned as a poet celebrating the conquests, but with no indication as to his date. No Abū al-Zahrāʾ al-Qushayrī is known outside the transmissions of Sayf. See Ṭabarī, I, 2391, 2395–96, 2573; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 77, 81.

to al-Bathaniyyah[878] and Ḥawrān.[879] The inhabitants made peace agreements with both of them according to the peace agreement of Damascus. The two of them took charge of conquering the lands to which they were sent. [2155]

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: The capture of Damascus occurred in the year 14 in Rajab (21 August–19 September 635). Also, the Battle of Fiḥl happened before [the capture of] Damascus, for only the rejectionists of Fiḥl went to Damascus, to which the Muslims pursued them. (He claims that) the Battle of Fiḥl occurred in the year 13, in Dhū al-Qaʿdah (27 December 634–25 January 635) of it.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: Thus.

As for al-Wāqidī, he claims that the capture of Damascus occurred in the year 14, as Ibn Isḥāq stated. He also claims that the Muslims' siege of it lasted six months. He further claims that the Battle of the Yarmūk happened in the year 15. He claims that Herakleios pulled back in this year after the Battle of the Yarmūk, in Shaʿbān (8 September–6 October 636), from Antioch to Constantinople, and that there was no battle after al-Yarmūk.

Abū Jaʿfar: I have previously noted what has been related from Sayf from those he transmitted from, that the Battle of al-Yarmūk fell in the year 13, that the post came to the Muslims at al-Yarmūk with [the news of] Abū Bakr's death on the very day on which, late in it, the Romans were defeated, and that ʿUmar commanded them, after they were finished with al-Yarmūk, to go to Damascus. He claims that Fiḥl was after Damascus and that there were battles after that between the Muslims and the Romans besides that [one], before Herakleios went away to Constantinople. I will relate them, God willing, in their [appropriate] places.

In this year, I mean the year 13, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb dispatched Abū ʿUbayd b. Masʿūd al-Thaqafī to Iraq, where he perished, according to al-Wāqidī. [2156]

But according to Ibn Isḥāq: The Day of the Bridge, the Bridge of Abū ʿUbayd b. Masʿūd al-Thaqafī, occurred in the year 14.

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878. Ancient Batanaea, it is a large district in the extreme south of modern Syria. Its capital was Adhriʿāt, now Darʿah. Al-Bathaniyyah lay mostly to the north of Adhriʿāt. See *EI*², s.v. al-Bathaniyya.

879. This today is taken to be the whole southern area of modern Syria from Damascus to the Jordanian border, but anciently the term was more restricted in usage, indicating mainly the region east and northeast of Adhriʿāt. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥawrān.

The Affair of Fiḥl According to Sayf

Abū Jaʿfar: At this point, we will relate the matter of Fiḥl, though the report that relates it contains the differences of opinion that I have mentioned regarding the conquests of the army of Syria. In fact, among the disagreeable aspects [of this study] is the occurrence of such a difference as the one I have noted about the date of this battle, [a difference that arose] because of the nearness [in time] of some of those [battles] to others. As for what Ibn Isḥāq has related about that and told its story, it has already been mentioned. But as for [Sayf, see as follows].

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū ʿUthmān Yazīd b. Asīd al-Ghassānī and Abū Ḥārithah al-ʿAbshamī: After the capture of Damascus, the army left Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān behind with cavalry in Damascus while they went on toward Fiḥl under the command of Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah. He sent forth Khālid in command of his vanguard, Abū ʿUbaydah[880] and ʿAmr in charge of his two wings, Ḍirār b. al-Azwar in charge of the cavalry, and ʿIyāḍ in command of the infantry. They did not like going against Herakleios while eighty thousand [of the enemy] were behind them. They knew that those before Fiḥl were the shield of the Romans, who were looking to
[2157] them, and that Syria would [surrender] peacefully after they [were defeated]. When they reached Abū al-Aʿwar, they sent him forward to Tiberias,[881] so that he besieged its forces, which then went to Fiḥl in al-Urdunn. When Abū al-Aʿwar had descended on the forces of Fiḥl, they withdrew to Baysān.

After this, Shuraḥbīl encamped at Fiḥl, while the Romans were at Baysān. Between them and the Muslims lay those waters and mires. They wrote to ʿUmar with the news while telling themselves to stay, for they did not want to depart from Fiḥl until the reply to their letter came back to them from ʿUmar. Nor could they advance against their enemy [from] where they were because of the mires that lay between them. The Arabs named that campaign Fiḥl, Dhāt al-Rada-

880. In this version, because they are in the district of al-Urdunn, which is Shuraḥbīl's province, Abū ʿUbaydah is demoted to a mere subordinate while Shuraḥbīl commands, perhaps reflecting local tradition.

881. Ar. *Ṭabariyyah*, it was founded and named in honor of the Roman emperor Tiberius. Since that time it has enjoyed a continuous existence. At the time of the conquest, it appears to have been the capital of the Roman province of Palaestina Secunda, on which the Islamic jund of al-Urdunn was based. See *EI*[1], s.v. Ṭabarīya.

ghah, and Baysān. The Muslims found in the countryside better than that which the polytheists enjoyed. Their supplies were continuous and their pasturage luxuriant, which made them negligent of the enemy. Saqallār b. Mikhrāq[882] commanded the enemy. Hoping that the Muslims would be caught unawares, they came against them, but the Muslims had not felt secure from [the possibility of] their attacking, which put them in a state of alert. Shuraḥbīl neither went to sleep for the night nor awoke in the morning except that he was in battle formation.

When the Romans made for the Muslims, they came on them unexpectedly and were not equal to them. At Fiḥl, the Romans fought the like of the hardest battle they had ever fought at night and at day until the [second] night. When the night brought darkness upon them, as they had lost their way, they were defeated while they were lost. Their chief, Saqallār b. Mikhrāq, was struck down. The one who was next to him [in command] among them was Nasṭūrus.[883] The Muslims won the best and most beneficial triumph. They then rode after the Romans, believing that the enemy had a direction and a hard, even ground [through which to escape]. But they found the Romans to be lost, not knowing what direction to take. Their defeat [2158]
and their being lost delivered them to the mud, which they rode into. When the first of the Muslims caught up with them, they had become mired; thus, the Muslims bore down on them. No imploring hand restrained them as they ran them through with spears. This was the [real] defeat at Fiḥl: their deaths were in the heavy mud. Eighty thousand were struck down; none escaped except the [occasional] fugitive. God was acting for the Muslims even though they disliked it: they disliked the flooding, but it turned out to be a help to them against their enemy and an overwhelming burden[884] [on them] from God, so that they might increase in insight and earnest purpose. They divided among themselves the spoils that God had given to them. Abū ʿUbaydah went off with Khālid from Fiḥl to

882. He is the same as the eunuch Theodore the Sakellarios whom Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 37–38, makes the Roman commander at al-Yarmūk. See note 568, above. Only Sayf gives him a role at Fiḥl.

883. Mentioned only in this place, the name possibly is an abridgement of Nasṭās b. Nasṭūrus, found on p. 165, above.

884. Text: *anāh*; read: *inā'ah*, as suggested in the notes to the Leiden ed.

Ḥimṣ. They also took Samīr[885] b. Kaʿb[886] away with them and departed with Dhū al-Kalāʿ and those with him, leaving behind Shuraḥbīl and his forces.

Baysān

When Shuraḥbīl was finished with Fiḥl, he marched with his forces, including ʿAmr, against the forces at Baysān, descending on them while Abū al-Aʿwar and the commanders with him were besieging Tiberias. The news had reached the various regions of al-Urdunn about the [fate] Damascus had met and what Saqallār and the Romans had met at Fiḥl and in the heavy mud, as well as the march of Shuraḥbīl against them, along with ʿAmr, al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, and Suhayl b. ʿAmr, heading for Baysān. The Romans fortified themselves in every place. Shuraḥbīl led the troops against the forces at Baysān. They besieged them for some days, then the Romans came out against them. The Muslims fought them, killing those who had come out against them, and then made a peace agreement with the rest of the forces there. That was accepted according to the Damascus peace agreement.

[2159]

Tiberias

When the news reached the people of Tiberias, they made a peace agreement with Abū al-Aʿwar on the condition that he take them to Shuraḥbīl. He did so, so that the Muslims made peace with them and the people of Baysān according to the Damascus peace agreement. By this they would share their dwellings in the cities and those surrounding areas belonging to them with the Muslims, leaving half to the latter whereas they would collect in the other half. A dīnār had to be paid for every person annually. For every *jarīb* of land a *jarīb* of wheat or barley had to be paid, whichever of those had been planted. There were [other] items in that [agreement], which they stipulated as conditions for peace. While the leaders and their horse settled in, as the peace terms for al-Urdunn were carried out, the re-

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885. Text: *Sumayr*; read: *Samīr*, as the modern name. Although Sumayr is also conceivable, the simple form should be used where it is elsewhere attested.

886. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 81.

inforcements scattered in the cities of al-Urdunn and its villages. A letter about the conquest was dispatched to ʿUmar.

Al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah and Abū ʿUbayd b. Masʿūd

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf b. ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Sawād, Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam, and Ziyād b. Sarjis, according to their *isnād*: The first thing ʿUmar did was to summon the men with al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah al-Shaybānī to fight the Persians before the dawn worship on the night on which Abū Bakr died. Then, when he arose, the people rendered the oath of allegiance, whereupon he repeated his call to the men to fight Persia. The people came in succession to give the oath of allegiance. They finished in three days; every day, he would summon them, but no one would heed the call to go against Persia. The Persian front was among the most disliked and difficult of the warfronts for them, because of the strength of the Persians' sovereignty, their military force, their might, and their subjection of the nations.

When it was the fourth day, ʿUmar repeated his summons to the [2160]
men to [go to] Iraq. The first to respond to the summons were Abū ʿUbayd b. Masʿūd and Saʿd b. ʿUbayd al-Anṣārī, the confederate of the Banū Fazārah,[887] who had fled on the Day of the Bridge. After that, [various] fronts were offered to him, but he refused [any] but Iraq, saying, "God, be He Exalted and Mighty, has counted [my] flight there against me, but it may be that He will bring me back to the attack in it." After this, the people came one after another [to volunteer].

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl b. Yūsuf—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad: Al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah spoke, saying, "O people, this front is not at all too great for you, for we have gone through the middle of the countryside of Persia and wrested the best two parts of the Sawād from them, dividing it equally with them and attaining [our goal] at their expense. Those who went before us took risks

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887. Al-Awsī, he was famous for collecting the Qur'ān. He fought at Badr and was slain at al-Qādisiyyah. His relationship with the Fazārah is not mentioned in any other source, nor is his participation in the conquest of Syria. However, his son ʿUmayr later governed part of Syria for the caliph ʿUmar. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 178; II, 497; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 159; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 688; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 458; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 121; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 321; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 280–81; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 31; Donner, *Conquests*, 376, 401, 410.

against them, and it will have, God willing, what comes after it."[888]
ʿUmar also stood up among the people to say,

> The Ḥijāz is not a home for you except for foraging; its inhabitants do not survive in it except by that. Where are the impulsive migrants for the sake of God's promise? Travel in the land that God has promised you in the Book to make you heirs to, for He has said, "That he may make it [Islam] triumph over all religion."[889] God is the One who grants victory to His religion, strengthens His helper, and commits to His people of the inheritances of the nations. Where are the righteous worshippers of God?

The first to answer the call was Abū ʿUbayd b. Masʿūd. Then the second was Saʿd b. ʿUbayd or Salīṭ b. Qays.[890] When that expedition had gathered, it was suggested to ʿUmar, "Put a man from among the early Muslims of the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār in command of them." ʿUmar answered,

> No, by God, I will not do so. God has exalted you only owing to your priority [in Islam] and your hastening against the enemy. But if you become fainthearted and dislike encoun-
> [2161] tering [the enemy in battle], then those who preceded you in repelling [the enemy] and answered the summons are more deserving of the leadership. By God, I will not give command of you to anyone but the first of you to answer the summons.

Thereupon, he called Abū ʿUbayd, Salīṭ, and Saʿd, saying [to the latter two], "As for the two of you, had you preceded him, I would have put you in charge and you would thereby have obtained what is yours by seniority." He made Abū ʿUbayd the commander of the army. He said to Abū ʿUbayd, "Listen to the Companions of the Prophet, making them partners in the matter. Do not launch an of-

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888. That is, "This setback will, God willing, be followed by a victory." This may refer to the Muslim defeat at the Battle of the Bridge, or some other setback.

889. Qur'ān 9: 33; 48: 28; 61: 9.

890. Al-Najjārī al-Khazrajī, he fought at Badr and the Prophet's later battles. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 185; II, 508; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 24, 141, 163, 514, 700, 896; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 495, 704; II, 244; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 512; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 107; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 105, 307–8, 310; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 43–44; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 72; Donner, *Conquests*, 376–77 (wrongly calls him Salāṭ).

fensive campaign hastily until you have ascertained the facts and [see] it is war, for only a coolheaded man who knows opportunity and restraint will do well in war."

A man from the Anṣār: ʿUmar said to Abū ʿUbayd, "Nothing has kept me from making Salīṭ the commander except for his hastening to war, for whoever hastens to war is lost, unless with clear reason. By God, if not for his haste, I would have made him the commander, but only the coolheaded does well for war."

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb b. Ibrāhīm—Sayf b. ʿUmar—al-Mujālid—al-Shaʿbī: Al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah came to Abū Bakr in the year 13. He sent him off with troops whom he summoned three times without anyone heeding his call until Abū ʿUbayd answered it, then Saʿd b. ʿUbayd. When he answered the call, Abū ʿUbayd said, "I am for it." Saʿd then said, "I am for it," because of a deed he had done. Salīṭ also spoke. It was suggested to ʿUmar, "Make their commander a man from among the Companions." ʿUmar replied, "The Companions excel [others] only in their hastening against the enemy and their fulfilling the responsibilities of those who are slow.[891] If a group did as they have done and found it too burdensome [to campaign], then those who heed the summons [to war], whether lightly or heavily armed, are more deserving of the command than they. By God, I am going to send out only the first to heed the call to be in charge of them." Thus, he put Abū ʿUbayd in command and gave him instructions for his army. [2162]

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb b. Ibrāhīm—Sayf b. ʿUmar—Sahl—al-Qāsim; and al-Mubashshir—Sālim: The first expedition sent out by ʿUmar was the expedition of Abū ʿUbayd. Then he sent out Yaʿlā b. Umayyah to Yemen, commanding him to evacuate the people of Najrān, according to the instructions of the Prophet in his [last] illness regarding that, and according to the instructions of Abū Bakr regarding that in his [last] illness. He said:

> Come to them, do not tempt them away from their religion, then remove those among them who keep to their religion. But confirm the Muslims [in their residence]. Survey the land of each of them whom you remove, then offer them a choice of countries [to which to emigrate], informing them

891. Text: *abā*; read: *anā*, as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, CDLV, DCXIV.

that we are removing them according to the injunction of God and His Messenger, "Two religions ought not to be left in the Arabian peninsula."[892] Therefore let them depart, whoever among them keeps to his religion. Then give them land equivalent to their land, in recognition of their right against ourselves and in fulfillment of [our] guarantee of security to them, according to what God has commanded regarding that, in exchange between them and their Yemenī and other neighbors for that which has gone to their neighbors in the countryside.

Al-Namāriq[893]

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl and Mubashshir, according to their *isnād*; and Mujālid—al-Shaʿbī: Abū ʿUbayd went forth, having with him Saʿd b. ʿUbayd, Salīṭ b. Qays, one of the Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār, and al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah, one of the Banū Shaybān, then one of the Banū Hind.

[2163] Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Mujālid and ʿAmr — Al-Shaʿbī and Abū Rawq: As often as the people would quarrel among themselves at al-Madāʾin, Būrān bt. Kisrā[894] would act as an honest arbiter among them until they composed their differences. When al-Farrukhzādh b. al-Bindawān was slain and Rustam[895] came forward to kill Āzarmīdukht, she acted as an arbiter until she brought forth Yazdigird.[896] Abū ʿUbayd arrived when Būrān was the arbiter and Rustam was in charge of warfare. Būrān had presented the Prophet

892. A very similar, though not identical, text of this *ḥadīth* is reported in Mālik, *Muwattaʾ*, 556. Variants of the same idea are found in Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, IV, 120–21; IX, 26, and Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 15, 87. See also Wensinck, *Handbook*, 118 (under Jews).

893. A place near al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 304.

894. Or, Būrāndukht. She was queen of Persia after the overthrow of the usurper Shahrbarāz, c. 629–30 C.E. As she actually preceded her sister Azarmīdukht, her mention here is out of place. See Ṭabarī, I, 1039, 1061, 1063–64; Christensen, *L'Iran*, 492; Frye, *History*, 337, 361.

895. He was an army commander who became the real ruler on deposing Azarmīdukht in 632 C.E. He presided over the Sāsānian disintegration and was killed at al-Qādisiyyah in 16/637. See Christensen, *L'Iran*, 493–94, 496.

896. This is Yazdigird III, the last Sāsānian monarch of Iran. He was quite young at his accession to the throne. He reigned 632–51 C.E., when he was killed outside of Marw after losing the last corner of his empire. See Christensen, *L'Iran*, 493–503; Frye, *History*, 337–38, 361.

with a gift that he accepted. She was an opponent of Shīrā for a year, then she followed him, and they came together on the condition that he would be the chief but would make her arbiter.

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād, according to their *isnād*: When Siyāwukhsh killed Farrukhzādh b. al-Bindawān and Āzarmīdukht became queen, the Persians disputed among themselves and were diverted from the Muslims, during the whole absence of al-Muthannā, until he came back from Medina. Būrān sent the news to Rustam and urged him to set out. He was in charge of the Khurāsān frontier and advanced until he stopped at al-Madā'in. He defeated every army of Āzarmīdukht that he met. Then they fought at al-Madā'in, where Siyāwukhsh was defeated and besieged, and Āzarmīdukht was besieged as well. Then Rustam captured it, killing Siyāwukhsh, putting out the eye of Āzarmīdukht, and establishing Būrān.

She invited him to manage the affairs of the Persians, whose weakness and decline she complained about to him, on condition that she would entrust him with the rule for ten years, then sover- [2164] eignty would belong to the family of Kisrā, if they found any of their male offspring, and if not, then to their women. Rustam said, "As for me, I hear and obey, seeking neither recompense nor reward. If you honor me by doing something for me, you are the masters of what you do. I am naught but your arrow and the willing [instrument] of your hands." Būrān replied, "Come to me in the morning." When he came to her in the morning, she summoned the governors (*marāzibah*) of Persia and wrote for him, "You are in charge of the armed forces of Persia. There is no one above you save God, be He Mighty and Majestic, according to our pleasure and in submission to your judgment. Your judgment is applicable to them as long as it leads to the protection of their land and their being united rather than divided." At this, she crowned him and commanded the Persians to hear and obey him. Persia submitted to him after the coming of Abū ʿUbayd.

The first thing that ʿUmar did the night of the death of Abū Bakr was to announce [extraordinary] congregational worship, then summon the men [for service], but they dispersed without anyone responding. Then he summoned them on the fourth day, and Abū ʿUbayd was the first of the men to respond favorably on the fourth day. After that, the men followed in succession. ʿUmar selected a

thousand men from the inhabitants of Medina and its environs and made Abū ʿUbayd their commander. It was suggested to ʿUmar that he put one of the Companions of the Prophet in charge of them, but he said, "No, by God, O Companions of the Prophet, I will not summon you [for service], so that you may rely on others who heed the call to do it, while I put you in command of them. You are preferred only owing to your hastening to [serve in] a like case, but if you rely on others, then they surpass you. Rather, I am going to make the first of you who heeds the call your commander." He then hurried al-Mu-
[2165] thannā on his way, saying, "Go on ahead until your troops arrive."

The first thing ʿUmar did in his caliphate along with his receiving the oath of allegiance was to dispatch Abū ʿUbayd, then to dispatch the people of Najrān, then to call on the people who had apostatized [to serve]. These last came in haste from every direction. ʿUmar threw them into Syria and Iraq. He also wrote to the forces at al-Yarmūk, "Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ is in charge of you." He wrote to Abū ʿUbaydah, "You are in command of the men. If God grants you victory, send away the forces of Iraq to Iraq, along with whoever would like [to go] among your reinforcements, for they [latterly] joined you." The first victory [news of] which came to him was al-Yarmūk, twenty days after the death of Abū Bakr. Among the reinforcements to al-Yarmūk in the time of ʿUmar was Qays b. Hubayrah,[897] who returned with the forces of Iraq, although he was not of them, having only gone forth to campaign when ʿUmar allowed former apostates to campaign.

Meanwhile, Persia's attention was diverted from the Muslims by the death of Shahrbarāz. Shāh-i Zanān[898] held the sovereign power until they agreed on Sābūr b. Shahrbarāz b. Ardashīr b. Shahriyār. But then Āzarmīdukht rebelled against him, killing him and al-Farrukhzādh, and became queen, while Rustam b. al-Farrukhzādh was

897. Al-Murādī, he is also known as Qays b. al-Makshūḥ and said really to have been a Bajalī who was a confederate of the Murād. He was a very important tribal leader who participated in the Riddah but later gained the distinction of fighting both in Syria and in Iraq. Probably the Qays b. al-Makshūḥ al-Bajalī who was killed fighting for ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn was the same man, whose *nisbah* has become confused. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 223, 271; II, 459, 461; Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 258–59; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 583; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 99, 120; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 126–27, 160, 314–15, 317, 320; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 414; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, III, 244–47; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 260, 274–75; Donner, *Conquests*, 119, 207, 211, 262–63, 339 nn. 193–94, 363, 394–95, 409, 433.

898. This title, which appears to mean "ruler of women," must refer to Queen Būrāndukht.

in Khurāsān in charge of its frontier. The news came to him from Būrān.

Al-Muthannā arrived in al-Ḥīrah with ten [men]. Abū ʿUbayd caught up with him after a month. Al-Muthannā stayed in al-Ḥīrah for fifteen nights. Rustam wrote to the *dihqāns* of al-Sawād that they rebel against the Muslims. He insinuated into every district (*rustāq*) a man to stir up its inhabitants. Thus he sent Jābān to al-Bihqubādh al-Asfal, and he sent Narsī[899] to Kaskar. He also appointed a day for them and sent troops to strike at al-Muthannā. When [news of] that reached him, al-Muthannā drew back his forward posts to himself and put himself on his guard. Acting with [2166] haste, Jābān, who was staying at al-Namāriq, rebelled. As the districts rebelled one after another, Narsī, who was staying at Zandaward,[900] also revolted. The inhabitants of the districts from the uppermost Euphrates to its lowest part rebelled. Al-Muthannā went forth with a force until he stopped at Khaffān, so that he might not be approached from the rear by something he would dislike. He remained there until Abū ʿUbayd came to him.

Abū ʿUbayd was then in command of the troops. He stayed at Khaffān for some days so that his men could recuperate. Meanwhile, many men had joined Jābān. Abū ʿUbayd went forth after the men had massed with their backing. He set them in battle formation, putting al-Muthannā in charge of the cavalry, Wāliq b. Jaydārah[901] in charge of his right flank, and ʿAmr b. al-Haytham b. al-Ṣalt b. Ḥabīb al-Sulamī[902] in charge of his left flank. Jābān's two wings were com-

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899. He is supposed to be the son of Khusraw II's maternal aunt, which would make him a relation of the discredited Bisṭām family that led the revolt of 591–601 C.E., but this connection of his with the royal family is found only in Sayf's report here. On him and his alleged family connections, see Morony, *Iraq*, 185–86. Although his existence is guaranteed by Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 318, 560, and Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 176, both of which report his son Bisṭām b. Narsī, he is still alive only in Sayf's version. Probably Narsī and his alleged royal connection are a fictional reconstruction of Sayf.

900. A district and town of south central Iraq. According to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 154, and Donner, *Conquests*, 158–59, it lay near Kaskar, and the city of Wāsiṭ was built from it, but Morony, *Iraq*, 157–58, places it between Kaskar and Hurmuzjird in the district of Bihqubādh.

901. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf. The name is very strange, as neither of its components seems to be found elsewhere either. See Donner, *Conquests*, 378.

902. He is mentioned only by Sayf and in this one place. This ʿAmr is apparently meant to be the brother of Qays b. al-Haytham b. Qays b. al-Ṣalt b. Ḥabīb al-Sulamī, an early governor of Khurāsān from a preeminent family of al-Baṣrah. As this Qays died after 64/684, it is unlikely that he could have had a brother in the early conquests. Therefore, ʿAmr here may be another of Sayf's embellishments. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 123; II, 459; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 22.

manded by Jushnas Māh[903] and Mardānshāh.[904] The Muslims descended on Jābān at al-Namāriq. The two sides fought a hard battle. God defeated the Persians. Jābān was captured by Maṭar b. Fiḍḍah al-Taymī,[905] and Mardānshāh was captured by Aktal b. Shammākh al-ʿUklī.[906] As for Aktal, he beheaded Mardānshāh, but as for Maṭar
[2167] b. Fiḍḍah, Jābān tricked him so that he escaped from him, by [paying] something so that he let him go. But the Muslims took him and brought him to Abū ʿUbayd, telling him Jābān was the king (*malik*)[907] and advising him to kill him. He replied, "I am afraid to kill him when a Muslim man has guaranteed his safety. The Muslims in their mutual affection and support are like a body: what applies to a part of them applies to them all."[908] They said, "But he is the king." He replied, "Even if he is, I will not act treacherously." Therefore, they let him go.

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Ṣalt b. Bahrām[909] — Abū ʿImrān al-Juʿfī:[910] Persia gave Rustam command of her armed forces for ten years. It also gave him the sovereign power.[911] He was an astrologer who understood the stars. When someone asked him,

903. That is, the Gushnasp (Stallion) of Media = al-Jibāl. He occurs only in one other place, in Ṭabarī, I, 2253, also in a report from Sayf, except that, as Jushnasmā, he also is attested as the father of Anūshajān and the brother of Narsī in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 418. Because only Sayf gives him a role in the conquest period, and because his son's activity is attested in al-Balādhurī, he may already have been dead, so that his appearance here at this late date is perhaps apocryphal. See also Morony, *Iraq*, 186 n. 27.

904. This Mardānshāh is found only in the reports of Sayf in this volume, as he is killed here. He is confused with another Mardānshāh, called Dhū al-Ḥājib, however. See Ṭabarī, *Indices*, 540; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 308, 314, 372.

905. He seems later to have fought at al-Qādisiyyah, though he is not attested in the best early sources. See Donner, *Conquests*, 378, 383, 398.

906. He allegedly was cited by the caliph ʿAlī as an example of correct Arabic. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 86; II, 151; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 123; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 110.

907. This title normally means "king," but in some of Sayf's reports here, it seems rather to have the sense of "general."

908. This closely parallels a famous canonical *ḥadīth*. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 431–32.

909. Abū Hāshim al-Taymī, he was a minor Kūfan traditionist who had a generally good reputation although he was considered one of the Murjiʾah. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 354; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 317; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 432–33.

910. Unidentified.

911. Or, "made him king," but none of the sources suggest that Rustam himself was actually king. See note 907.

"What has called you to this task when you see what you see?" he replied, "Greed and the love of honor." He corresponded with the inhabitants of al-Sawād and insinuated among them leaders, who led them in rebellion against the Muslims, after he had promised them that the commander in charge of them would be the first one who rebelled. Thus, when Jābān rebelled in Furāt Bādaqlā, the people revolted after him. The Muslims fell back upon al-Muthannā at al-Ḥīrah, whence he headed for Khaffān. He remained at Khaffān until Abū ʿUbayd, who was the commander of al-Muthannā and the others, came to him, while Jābān encamped at al-Namāriq. Abū ʿUbayd set out toward him from Khaffān. The armies met at al-Namāriq, and God defeated the Persians, the Muslims getting from them what they wanted.

Maṭar b. Fiḍḍah, who was attributed to his mother [in his filiation], and Ubayy,[912] on seeing a man who was wearing ornaments, attacked him and took him captive. They found him to be an old man. Ubayy considered him to be worth little, but Maṭar desired his ransom. Thus they agreed that the spoils of his equipment should belong to Ubayy, but the capture of his person belonged to Maṭar. When Maṭar had possession of him free and clear, he said [to Maṭar], "You, O Arabs, are a people of good faith. Will you not guarantee my safety, and I will give you two beardless, nimble boys for your deed, [2168]
as well as such-and-such." Maṭar answered, "Yes." The Persian went on, "Bring me into the presence of your king so that he may witness to that." He did so, bringing him before Abū ʿUbayd, and it was done for him in that way, Abū ʿUbayd confirming [it]. Then Ubayy stood up among men from the Rabīʿah. As for Ubayy, he said, "I captured him! He is without a guarantee of safe-conduct." As for the others, they recognized him and said, "This is the king, Jābān. It is he who has met us with this army." Abū ʿUbayd responded, "What do you think I should do, O men of Rabīʿah? Should your compatriot guarantee his safety and then I kill him? I take refuge with God from that."

Abū ʿUbayd divided the spoils, among which was much perfume. After handing out the booty, he sent the fifths off with the man who had divided the portions.

912. Unidentified.

Al-Saqāṭiyyah[913] *in Kaskar*

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb b. Ibrāhīm—Sayf b. ʿUmar—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād—Abū ʿUbayd:[914] When they were defeated, they took the way to Kaskar to take refuge with Narsī—Narsī was the son of Kisrā's maternal aunt, and Kaskar was an estate of his. Al-Nirsiyān[915] was also his. He would protect it: neither did humanity eat [of] it, nor did anyone plant it besides them or the king of Persia, except for those whom they honored with something from it. That among their acts was remembered among the people, for this property of theirs was a protected reserve (*ḥimā*). Rustam and Būrān said to him, "Go off to your estate to protect it from your enemy and our enemy. Be a man."—Thus when the Persians were defeated on the Day of al-Namāriq and the defeated remnants were headed toward Narsī, who was in his camp, Abū ʿUbayd called for breaking camp, saying to the light horse[men], "Pursue them so that you make them
[2169] enter Narsī's camp or else annihilate them in the land from al-Namāriq to Bāriq[916] to Durtā."[917] ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr said regarding that:

By my life, and my life is not easy for me [to offer],
the folk of al-Namāriq were indeed greeted in the morning with humiliation
At the hands of men who migrated in their Lord's direction,
searching for them between Durtā and Bāriq.

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913. An unindentified place supposed to be in the district of Kaskar. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 226; Donner, *Conquests*, 192, 334 n. 127.

914. This reference to Abū ʿUbayd in the *isnād* would appear misplaced, but Sayf sometimes does trace his traditions back to eyewitnesses without an intervening link.

915. An estate in the district of Kaskar. See Morony, *Iraq*, 186.

916. A watering place in Iraq described roughly in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 319, as between al-Qādisiyyah and al-Baṣrah, but belonging to al-Kūfah. Therefore, it was on the desert road between al-Qādisiyyah and al-Baṣrah, nearer to the former. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 359–60.

917. A place near Qaṭrabbul by Baghdād. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 449. From Bāriq to Durtā thus means from west of the Euphrates up to the Tigris, hence, across all Mesopotamia. Because Durtā lies far to the north of Bāriq, however, it is somewhat odd that it is referred to even metaphorically regarding a campaign fought in the Kaskar district to the southeast. Probably the following lines of poetry did not originally refer to this campaign.

We slew them in what is between Marj Musalliḥ[918]
and al-Hawāfī[919] on the road of al-Badhāriq.[920]

Abū ʿUbayd went along after leaving al-Namāriq until he descended on Narsī in Kaskar. At that time, Narsī was in the lowest part of Kaskar. Al-Muthannā was in the battle formation with which he fought Jābān. Narsī's two flanks were commanded by the two sons of his maternal uncle, who were the two sons of the uncle of Kisrā, Bindūyah[921] and Tīrūyah,[922] the two sons of Bisṭām.[923] The people of Bārūsmā, Nahr Jawbar,[924] and al-Zawābī[925] were with Narsī, having joined his army. When the news of Jābān's defeat came to Būrān and Rustam, they sent a messenger to al-Jālinūs.[926] [News of] that reached Narsī and the people of Kaskar, Bārūsmā, Nahr Jawbar, and al-Zāb,[927] who hoped that he would get to them before the battle.

But Abū ʿUbayd rushed them, so that they met below Kaskar at a place called al-Saqāṭiyyah, where they fought a fierce battle in barren

918. Its location is unknown and it appears not to be mentioned except here. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 129, where these lines are also cited.

919. Another place whose location is unknown and appears cited only in these lines. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 419.

920. No reference to this place appears to exist elsewhere.

921. Text: Bindawayh; read: Bindūyah, to approximate the reconstructed Middle Persian pronunciation.

922. Text: Tīrawayh; read: Tīrūyah.

923. Bisṭām's sister was Khusraw II's mother, so that these persons, Narsī, Bindūyah, and Tīrūyah, are alleged by the passage to be connected with the Sāsānian house. But as this Bisṭām fought against Khusraw II for ten years (c. 591–601 C.E.) in a devastating civil war for the Persian crown, it is not likely that any of Bisṭām's relatives would enjoy later prominence, least of all his own sons, especially as there is no mention of this family after c. 601 C.E. except in the reports of Sayf b. ʿUmar. Probably this is another instance of Sayf adorning his reports with claimed descendants of defunct pre-Islamic noble houses. See Ṭabarī, I, 993–94, 996; Sebeos, *History*, 60–61, 63, 65–66; Theophylact, *History*, 153 n. 77, etc.; Christensen, *L'Iran*, 439–41.

924. A subdistrict of Veh-Artakhshatr along the Nahr Malik and Kūthā canals between al-Madāʾin and Bihqubādh. Nahr Jawbar probably lay below the Kūthā canal. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 80, map II; Donner, *Conquests*, 163; Morony, *Iraq*, 127, 144.

925. The Zāb canal system parallel to the Tigris below Baghdād and also below Nahr Jawbar. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 37–38, 73, 80, map II; Morony, *Iraq*, 127, 146.

926. A general with a Greek name, probably indicating a Christian, but not necessarily a Greek, background, who was killed at al-Qādisiyyah. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 109, 119, 121; Morony, *Iraq*, 187.

927. The same as al-Zawābī.

deserts. Then God defeated Persia. Narsī fled, losing his camp and land. Abū ʿUbayd devastated what was around their camp in Kaskar
[2170] and gathered up the spoils. He saw a great amount of foodstuffs; therefore, he sent a messenger among those Arabs who were near him so that they might carry away what they wished. Thus the storerooms of Narsī were taken. They were not happier with anything that was stored up than they were with what was at al-Nirsiyān, for Narsī had kept it [for his own use], and their kings had helped him in it as well. Thus they divided it up and began to feed the peasants from it. They sent the fifth to ʿUmar, writing to him, "God has fed us with food that the Kisrās kept as their private stock. We wanted you to see it, in order that you may remember God's blessing and his favor."

Abū ʿUbayd remained fixed, but he sent al-Muthannā away to Bārūsmā, while sending Wāliq to al-Zawābī and ʿĀṣim to Nahr Jawbar.[928] They defeated those who had massed and ravaged [the land], taking captives as well. Among that which al-Muthannā ravaged and took captives [from] was the people of Zandaward and Basrīsā.[929] Abū Zaʿbal[930] was among the captives of Zandaward. That army fled to al-Jālinūs. Among those whom ʿĀṣim took captive were the inhabitants of Bītiq[931] in Nahr Jawbar. Among those whom Wāliq took captive was Abū al-Ṣalt.[932] Farrūkh and Farwandādh[933] went forth to al-Muthannā, seeking [to pay] the *jizyah* and a guarantee of protection for their land, and he brought them to Abū ʿUbayd. One of them was [from] Bārūsmā and the other Nahr Jawbar. They paid him four [dirhams] for each person, Farrūkh for Bārūsmā, Farwandādh for Nahr Jawbar, and likewise al-Zawābī and Kaskar. We guaranteed [the safety of] their men to them on condition that they hurried [pay-

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928. This last expedition is specifically confirmed by Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 108–9, in a report from Ibn Isḥāq that must have been already in circulation before Sayf's work. But he says it was ʿAmr b. Zayd al-Khayl who took al-Zawābī.

929. Possibility a corruption of Basūsiyā. See pp. 198, 204, below and Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIV.

930. Unidentified and mentioned only here by Sayf. Donner, *Conquests*, 379, incorrectly states that he took captives at Zandaward.

931. Unidentified and mentioned only here by Sayf.

932. Although Ṭabarī, *Indices*, 288, claims he is the father of the al-Ṣalt b. Bahrām mentioned on p. 180, above, such an identification is chronologically implausible. Otherwise, he is an unknown person.

933. These two persons are mentioned only here by Sayf. See Morony, *Iraq*, 108, 148, 200.

ment]. They did so and thus were at peace [with the Muslims]. Farrūkh and Farwandādh brought Abū ʿUbayd a vessel containing the varieties of the foods of Persia, including [sundry] dishes, sweets [2171] made from dates, cream, and starch, and other things. They said, "This is hospitality with which we are honoring you and a meal for you." He asked, "Have you also offered hospitality to the troops and given them a meal like it?" They replied, "It would not be easy, but we will do it." They were waiting only for them to face the arrival of al-Jālinūs and what he would do. Therefore Abū ʿUbayd said, "We do not need that which the troops cannot do," and returned it. Abū ʿUbayd then went forth until he stopped at Bārūsmā, where [the news of] the march of al-Jālinūs reached him.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Naḍr b. al-Sarī al-Ḍabbī:[934] Al-Andarzaghar b. al-Kharukbadh[935] brought him the like of what Farrūkh and Farwandādh had brought. He asked, "Have you also offered hospitality to the troops and given them a meal like it?" They replied, "No." He said, "We do not need it. Abū ʿUbayd would be the worst man if he accompanied people from their homeland to spill their blood for him, or not to spill [it], then gave himself preference in something he [alone] would obtain. No, by God, he should only eat from what God has given as booty to the Muslims the like of what their average person eats."

Abū Jaʿfar—Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: The like of this report that Sayf has transmitted from his authorities regarding ʿUmar's dispatch of al-Muthannā and Abū ʿUbayd b. Masʿūd to Iraq to wage war on those of the unbelievers who were in it and [regarding] their wars and those who fought against them. However, he said [the following differently.

Ibn Isḥāq:] When Jālinūs and his troops were defeated and Abū ʿUbayd entered Bārūsmā, he camped, he and his men, at one of its villages that was able to hold them. Food was prepared for Abū ʿUbayd and brought to him. When he saw it, he said, "I am not one to eat this [alone] without the Muslims." They said to him, "Eat, for [2172] there is none of your men but that he will be brought the like of this or better where he is staying." Thus he ate. When they came back to

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934. Another of the sources frequently quoted by Sayf who is otherwise wholly unknown.

935. Text: al-Khūkabadh; read: al-Kharukbadh, as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda,* DCXIV.

him, he asked them about their food, and they told him about the food that had come to them.[936]

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb b. Ibrāhīm—Sayf b. ʿUmar—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād, according to their *isnād*: Jābān and Narsī had sought reinforcements from Būrān, who then supplied the two of them with al-Jālinūs leading the army of Jābān. He was commanded to begin with Narsī, then to fight Abū ʿUbayd afterward. But Abū ʿUbayd hastened against him, leading his army off before al-Jālinūs had drawn near. When he was near, Abū ʿUbayd confronted him. Al-Jālinūs stopped at Bāqusyāthā[937] in Bārūsmā. Abū ʿUbayd rushed upon him with the Muslims, his forces in battle formation. They met at Bāqusyāthā. The Muslims defeated them, al-Jālinūs fled, and Abū ʿUbayd remained [where he was], having won that land.

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, Mujālid, Ziyād, and al-Naḍr, according to their *isnād*: Those *dihqāns*, who had been expecting [al-Jālinūs] and were terrified and afraid for themselves, all together brought him [word of] what the army had been able to do.

As for al-Naḍr and Mujālid: Abū ʿUbayd said, "Did I not tell you
[2173] that I would not eat except what those with me could from those whom you have conquered?" They said, "No one is left who has not been brought enough of this in their saddles to satiate him or better." When the people had gone home, he asked them about the hospitality of the inhabitants of the land, and they told him. They had been remiss only at first [because they were] expecting [al-Jālinūs] and were afraid that the Persians would punish [them].

As for Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: When he had learned, he accepted [it] from them and ate. He also sent a message to a group who would eat with him as his guests to invite them to the food, for the Muslims had obtained food that the Persians served to guests. Those invited did not realize that the inhabitants had brought Abū

936. Although this report seems to differ little from the report of Sayf on this point, in fact Sayf's version probably shows a tendentious secondary development, for Sayf has Abū ʿUbayd haughtily refusing the Persians' hospitality, which was described as only a deceitful trick to buy time in any case. This reconstruction owes to Sayf's pro-Arab and anti-Shuʿūbī tendencies, which caused him always to portray the Persians in the worst possible light.

937. The same as Quss al-Nāṭif. See note 219, above.

ʿUbayd anything, but rather supposed that they were being invited to Abū ʿUbayd's kind of rough living to which they used to be invited. However, they disliked leaving aside what had been brought to them of that [Persian spoils] and said to the messenger, "Tell the commander that we do not desire anything besides what the *dihqāns* have brought to us." But he sent a message to them, "It is much food from the foods of the Persians, in order for you to see how it compares with what you have been brought. It includes thin cakes (*qarw*),[938] herbs, young pigeons, roast meat, and mustard." ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr said regarding that and the guests he had with him:

If you have thin cakes, herbs, and young pigeons,
  Ibn Farrūkh has roast meat and mustard.
And pastry thin like sheets rolled up
  on bits of meat in which are herbs and young pigeon.

He also said:

We visited the people of Kisrā at al-Baqāyis[939] in the morning
  with a morning draught not from the wine of al-Sawād.
We visited them in the morning with every iron-clad youth [2174]
  and lightly equipped swift runner among the charging horses.

Then Abū ʿUbayd departed, sending al-Muthannā ahead and marching in battle formation until he arrived in al-Ḥīrah.

Al-Naḍr, Mujālid, Muḥammad, and his companions: ʿUmar came to Abū ʿUbayd to say,

> You will come to the land of cunning, deceit, treachery, and insolence. You will come to a people who have ventured upon evil, which they have learned, whereas they have pretended to forget good, of which they are ignorant. Therefore, see how you will be. Keep your tongue and by no means give away your secret, for the possessor of the secret, as long as he keeps it, is fortified: he will not be approached from a direction he does not like, whereas if he causes it to be lost, then he is lost.

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938. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda,* CCLXVII–CCLXVIII, CDXXIII.

939. That is, Bāqusyāthā, altered by poetic license to fit the meter.

The Battle of al-Qarqus, Which Is Also Called al-Quss, Quss al-Nāṭif, the Bridge, and al-Marwaḥah[940]

Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī—al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād, according to their *isnād*: When al-Jālinūs returned to Rustam, along with those of his troops who had escaped, Rustam asked, "Which of the Persians is the strongest in fighting the Arabs in your opinion?" They answered, "Bahman Jādhūyah." Therefore he dispatched him along with elephants. He also sent back al-Jālinūs with him and said to him, "Send al-Jālinūs ahead. If he returns to the like of his defeat, then cut off his head." Bahman Jādhūyah advanced, having with him the Great Standard (*dirafsh*
[2175] *kābiyān*),[941] the standard of Kisrā, which was made of tiger skins to a length of eighty cubits by a width[942] of twelve cubits. Abū ʿUbayd advanced to stop at al-Marwaḥah, where the tower and the bend in the river are. Bahman Jādhūyah sent a message to him, "Either you cross over to us, and we will allow you to cross, or else you let us cross over to you." The men said, "Do not cross, O Abū ʿUbayd! We will prevent you from crossing." They also told him, "Say to them that they should cross over." Among the harshest of the people against him regarding that was Salīṭ. But Abū ʿUbayd was unyielding and left aside the [wise] opinion, saying, "They will not risk death more than we. Rather, we will cross over to them." Thus, they crossed over to the enemy, who were in a narrow site with regard to both pursuit and flight.

They fought for a day, Abū ʿUbayd having with him between six and ten [thousand men], until, when it was the day's end and a man from among the Thaqīf[943] considered the victory to be slow [in coming], he drew the men [closer] together. The two sides struck each other with swords. Abū ʿUbayd struck the elephant, while the elephant hit Abū ʿUbayd. The swords had worked quickly among the

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940. This place, which is on the west bank of the Euphrates opposite Quss al-Nāṭif, is referred to only in Sayf's reports. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 111–12. For the Battle of the Bridge, see Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 109–10. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 168–71, has absurdly turned this battle into a Muslim victory.

941. Also mentioned independently in Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 109.

942. The words for width and length in the text have been reversed to correspond to English idiom.

943. A famous Arab tribe whose homeland was centered at al-Ṭāʾif, they were second in rank to none but their early allies, the Quraysh, whom they continued to serve in Umayyad times. See EI^1, s.v. Thaḳīf; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 92; II, 16–17, 553.

Persians, of whom six thousand were struck down in the melee. Only defeat remained and was expected [by them]. But when Abū ʿUbayd was hit and the elephant stood upon him, the Muslims fled and then continued in flight. The Persians rode down on them. A man from the Thaqīf, getting to the bridge first, cut it. The troops then reached it, while the swords were taking them from behind, and fell into the Euphrates. They struck down four thousand of the Muslims on that day between those drowned and killed. Al-Muthannā protected the troops, as did ʿĀṣim, al-Kalaj al-Ḍabbī,[944] and Madhʿūr, until they repaired the bridge and brought the men across. Then they [themselves] crossed in their traces. They stayed at al- [2176] Marwaḥah, while al-Muthannā lay wounded, and also al-Kalaj, Madhʿūr, and ʿĀṣim, who were the protectors of the troops along with al-Muthannā. Many of the men fled, taking their own way, and so disgraced themselves and felt ashamed of what had happened to them. [News of] it reached ʿUmar from certain of those who had sought refuge in Medina. He said, "Worshippers of God! O God, every Muslim is absolved of his oath to me. I am the party of every Muslim. May God have mercy on Abū ʿUbayd; if he had crossed and then taken refuge on the riverside or had he retreated to us, not trying to defy death, we would have been his party [of supporters]."

Meanwhile, as the Persians were trying to cross, the news came to them that the people of al-Madā'in had revolted against Rustam, breaking that which was between them and him. They became two parties, al-Fahlūj[945] against Rustam and the Persians against al-Fayruzān.[946]

Forty nights intervened between the Battle of al-Yarmūk and the Bridge. The one who brought the news of al-Yarmūk was Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥimyarī. The one who brought the news of the Bridge was

944. The ancestor of Hubayrah b. al-Ashʿath, he is mentioned by Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 110, as well as Ṭabarī, I, 2343, 2433, 2446. This could be the Hubayrah b. al-Ashʿath al-Ḍabbī mentioned in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 89; II, 285, but no ancestor named al-Kalaj is found in his genealogy. There is an al-Kalaḥ b. al-Ḥārith, found in the Dhuhl, however, in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 154; II, 368. Hubayrah's ancestry also goes back to a Dhuhl clan of the Ḍabbah. It thus appears possible that a part of the Dhuhl may have joined the Ḍabbah at some early date.

945. Defined in Ṭabarī, I, 2608, as the people from between al-Bāb (Darband ?) and Ḥulwān in the region of al-Jibāl in western Iran.

946. He is mentioned plentifully in Sayf's reports but very little elsewhere and not at all in al-Balādhurī. See Ṭabarī, *Indices*, 453; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 121; Morony, *Iraq*, 192–93.

ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd[947] al-Anṣārī,[948] who was not the one who saw the vision.[949] When he reached ʿUmar, ʿUmar was on the pulpit. ʿUmar called out for the news, "O ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd!" He responded, "The sure news has come to you," then he ascended the pulpit to ʿUmar and gave it to him secretly. Al-Yarmūk was in the days of Jumādā al-Ākhirah (2–30 August 634), and the Bridge was in Shaʿbān (30 September–28 October 634).

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Mujālid and Saʿīd b. al-Marzubān:[950] Rustam charged Bahman Jādhūyah, who was Dhū al-Ḥājib,[951] with fighting Abū ʿUbayd. He sent back with him al-Jālinūs, who had with him the elephants, among them a white elephant on which was a palm tree [emblem]. He advanced leading the large [2177] army. Abū ʿUbayd had confronted him until he reached Bābil. When he reached it, Abū ʿUbayd retreated until he put the Euphrates between the two of them and camped at al-Marwaḥah. Then, Abū ʿUbayd had cause for regret when the enemy descended on him to say, "Either you cross over to us, or else we cross over." At this he swore that he would definitely cross the Euphrates to them and that he would indeed rectify what he had done. Salīṭ b. Qays and other important men adjured him, "The Arabs have not met the like of these Persian troops since they have been in existence, for they have concentrated against us and confronted us in numbers and equipment with which no one among them has met us [before]. You have brought us to a site from which we can retreat, take refuge, and

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947. Text: Zayd; read: Yazīd, as most references.

948. ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd b. al-Ḥuṣayn (or Ḥiṣn) al-Khaṭamī al-Awsī, he was a Companion of the Prophet who subsequently migrated to al-Kūfah. He is said to have supported ʿAlī but nevertheless was later made governor of al-Kūfah by Ibn al-Zubayr in 64–66/684–86, after which he died. He is also said to have briefly governed Mecca for him. He was born c. 613 C.E. See Ṭabarī, II, 467, 509–10, 512–13, 535, 537, 542–44, 548–49, 570, 592, 600–2; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 182; II, 121; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 18; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 110, 325; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, II, 391; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 269; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 382–83; Donner, *Conquests*, 377.

949. This is ʿAbdallāh b. Zayd b. ʿAbd Rabbih al-Ḥārithī al-Khazrajī. Some variations exist as to his exact name. He fought at Badr and other early battles and died in Medina in 32/653 at the age of sixty-four. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 536–37; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, II, 311–12; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 312; III, 132–33.

950. Abū Saʿd al-Aʿwar, the *mawlā* of Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān al-ʿAbsī, he was a famous Kūfan traditionist with a poor reputation who died 141–49/758–67. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 354; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 157–58; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 79–80.

951. Lit., "the possessor of the eyebrow." The title is elsewhere assigned to Mardānshāh, who was probably not the same person. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 119–20; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 308, 314.

[later] come back from flight to counterattack." Abū 'Ubayd replied, "I will not do so. You have become cowardly, by God." The messenger for what was between Dhū al-Ḥājib and Abū 'Ubayd was Mardānshāh al-Khaṣī.[952] He told them that the Persians were reproaching them [for their weakness]. At this, Abū 'Ubayd became more cantankerous. He rebutted his advisers and called Salīṭ a coward. Salīṭ said, "By God, I am bolder than you in spirit. We have given you our view, and you will come to know."

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Naḍr b. al-Sarī—al-Agharr al-'Ijlī:[953] While Abū 'Ubayd was encamped on the bank of the Euphrates at al-Marwaḥah, Dhū al-Ḥājib advanced until he stood on the bank of the Euphrates at Quss al-Nāṭif and said, "Either you cross over to us, or else we will cross over to you." Abū 'Ubayd replied, "Rather we will cross over to you." Ibn Ṣalūbā secured the bridge for the two sides together. Before that, Dawmah,[954] the wife of [2178] Abū 'Ubayd, had seen a vision when she was at al-Marwaḥah. [In it,] a man came down from heaven with a vessel containing a drink that Abū 'Ubayd and Jabr,[955] along with men from his family, drank. She told Abū 'Ubayd about it, and he said, "This is martyrdom!" Abū 'Ubayd expressed his will to the people, saying, "If I am killed, Jabr is in command of the troops. If he is slain, so-and-so is in command of you." [He went on] until he had made commanders out of those who had drunk from the vessel according to the order that he spoke. Finally, he said, "If Abū al-Qāsim is killed, then al-Muthannā is in charge of you." Then he led the troops forward, so that both he and they crossed over to the enemy.

The ground could scarcely hold the people on it as the troops joined battle. When the horsemen beheld the elephants upon which was the palm tree [emblem], the horses wearing coats of mail, and the horsemen wearing distinctive emblems (*shu'ur*), they saw something unknown, the like of which they had not seen. Thus, when the Muslims charged against them, their horses would not advance, whereas when the enemy charged the Muslims with the elephants

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952. That is, "the Eunuch."

953. Possibly Abū Muslim, the Kūfan traditionist who transmitted from Abū Hurayrah, who also may be the same as al-Agharr b. Salīk (or Ḥanẓalah), another Kūfan who also transmitted from Abū Hurayrah. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 364–66.

954. Unidentified and apparently reported only by Sayf.

955. Jabr b. Abī 'Ubayd al-Thaqafī, he was his father's second-in-command. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 109.

and bells hung around the horses' necks, they split the Muslims' squadrons; the horses would not stand up to them but rather shied away. The Persians also shot them through with arrows. Pain bit the Muslims, and they became unable to reach the enemy. Abū ʿUbayd dismounted, as did the troops, then they marched to them and struck them with swords. Whenever the elephants charged a company, they would push them back, so that Abū ʿUbayd called out, "Encompass the elephants, rip open their stomachs, and dump off those riding them." He leaped upon the white elephant, attached himself to its underside, and ripped it open, whereupon those on it fell. The troops did likewise. They did not leave an elephant but they pulled off its saddle and slew its company. The elephant lunged at Abū ʿUbayd, who struck its trunk (*mishfar*)[956] slightly with his sword, but the elephant held him back with its foot,[957] while Abū ʿUbayd tried to get at it. Then it struck him with its foot so that he fell down. After that, the elephant hit him and stood on him.

[2179] When the troops saw Abū ʿUbayd under the elephant, the hearts of some of them became faint. The one who had been designated commander after him took up the standard and fought the elephant until it moved aside from Abū ʿUbayd, whom he dragged to the Muslims, who carefully protected his corpse. The commander tried to get at the elephant, but it held him off with its foot as it had done with Abū ʿUbayd. The elephant then hit him and stood on him. Seven [men] from the Thaqīf followed one another in succession, each one taking up the standard and fighting until he died. Then al-Muthannā took up the standard. The troops fled.

When ʿAbdallāh b. Marthad al-Thaqafī[958] saw what Abū ʿUbayd and his successors met and what the troops did, he preceded them to the bridge, which he cut, saying, "O people, die as your commanders have died, or else win!" The polytheists drove the Muslims back onto the bridge. The troops grew fainthearted and jumped into the Euphrates, where those who did not persevere [in fighting] drowned, while the enemy hurried [to smite] those who persevered. Al-Muthannā and some of the Muslims' horsemen gave the troops cover. He called out, "O people, we will protect you; therefore, cross at your ease. Do not be taken aback, for we will not move from here

956. Though the Arabic clearly means "lip," perhaps "trunk" better fits the context.

957. Lit., "hand."

958. Unidentified and mentioned only by Sayf in this place.

until we see you on that side, and do not drown yourselves." They found the bridge, with ʿAbdallāh b. Marthad standing on it, preventing the men from crossing. They took him and brought him to al-Muthannā, who beat him and asked, "What led you to do what you did?" He answered, "So that they would fight." Those who had crossed summoned some peasants [to help]. They joined the vessel that had been cut away to its other vessels, whereupon the people crossed. The last one killed at the bridge was Salīṭ b. Qays. Al-Muthannā crossed and protected his side, but his troops were in disarray. Dhū al-Ḥājib eagerly desired them, but he was unable to get to [2180] them. When al-Muthannā crossed, the people of Medina dispersed from him until they reached Medina, though some of them avoided it, remaining in the deserts. Al-Muthannā remained with a few [men].

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — a man — Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī:[959] On that day, four thousand perished either killed or drowned, and two thousand fled, leaving three thousand. When Dhū al-Ḥājib heard about the outbreak of civil violence in Persia, he turned back with his army. That was a cause of their dispersing from him. Al-Muthannā was wounded, links from his chain mail having become embedded in him where the spear had torn them.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Mujālid and ʿAṭiyyah: The like of it.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Mujālid, ʿAṭiyyah, and al-Naḍr: The troops of Medina, when they made their way to Medina, told about those who went about in the land out of shame for the defeat. That was hard for ʿUmar to bear, and thus he was merciful to them.

Al-Shaʿbī: ʿUmar said, "O God, every Muslim has a right to my help. I am the party of every Muslim. Whosoever meets the enemy and reckons something in the matter to be hard, I will be a party [of supporters] for him. May God have mercy on Abū ʿUbayd; if he had retreated to me, I would have been a party [of supporters] for him." Al-Muthannā sent the news to ʿUmar with ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd, who was the first to come to ʿUmar.

Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: The like of Sayf's report about the matter of Abū ʿUbayd, Dhū al-Ḥājib, and their war. However, he said [the following differently.

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959. This transmitter, though having a name similar to the often-quoted Abū ʿUthmān Yazīd b. Asīd al-Ghassānī, must be different from him. However, both are unattested in works other than those of Sayf.

Ibn Isḥāq:] Dawmah, the mother of al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd saw
[2181] [in a vision] that a man descended from heaven. He had a vessel in which was a drink from paradise such a sleeper sees, and Abū ʿUbayd, Jabr b. Abī ʿUbayd, and men from his family drank from it.

[Ibn Isḥāq] also: When Abū ʿUbayd saw what the elephant was doing, he asked, "Is there any way to kill this beast?" They answered, "Yes, if its trunk is cut off, it will die." Therefore, he attacked it, striking its trunk and cutting it off, but the elephant knelt on him, killing him.

[Ibn Isḥāq] also: When the Persians turned back, al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah camped at Ullays. The troops scattered, making their way to Medina. The first to reach Medina with news of the troops was ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Khaṭamī, who told the people.

Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Muḥammad b. Isḥāq — ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr—ʿAmrah bt. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān[960]—ʿĀʾishah, the Prophet's wife: I heard ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb when ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd arrived calling for the news, "O ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd!" He was inside of the mosque and passing by my door when he asked, "What do you have [to report], O ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd?" He replied, "The news has come to you, O Commander of the Faithful." When he reached him, he told him the news about the troops. I have not heard of a man who witnessed something and then reported it who was more reliable in his report than he. When the defeated remnants of the troops arrived and ʿUmar saw the grief of the Muslims of the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār on account of the flight, he said, "Do not grieve, O Muslims.
[2182] I am your party. You have only retreated to me."

Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq — Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [b. ʿAbdallāh] b. al-Ḥuṣayn and others: Muʿādh al-Qāriʾ, one of the Banū al-Najjār,[961] was among those who participated in it and fled on that day. When he read this verse, "And whoever turns his back to them on that day, except if maneuvering for battle or turning aside to join a company, has brought God's anger on himself.

960. She is ʿAmrah bt. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿd (or Asʿad) b. Zurārah al-Najjāriyyah al-Khazrajiyyah of the Anṣār, a Medinan traditionist of excellent reputation who specialized in transmitting from ʿĀʾishah. She died in 98–106/717–24 at the age of seventy-seven. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 480–81; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 438–39.

961. Abū Ḥalīmah Muʿādh b. al-Ḥārith, he was a Companion who was said to have fought first at al-Khandaq in 5/627. He is said to have been killed at the Battle of al-Ḥarrah in 63/683 at the age of sixty-nine, but is not mentioned in Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 307–10. See Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 75; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 427–28.

His final refuge is hell, which is the worst fate,"[962] he wept, whereupon ʿUmar said to him, "Do not weep, O Muʿādh. I am your company, and you have only retreated to me."

Lesser Ullays

Abū Jaʿfar—al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb b. Ibrāhīm—Sayf b. ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Nuwayrah, Ṭalḥah, Ziyād, and ʿAṭiyyah: Jābān and Mardānshāh went forth until they took to the road, thinking that the Muslims would have scattered. They did not know what had reached Dhū al-Ḥājib about the discord among the Persians. When the Persians had scattered and Dhū al-Ḥājib had gone forth after them, al-Muthannā, having heard of the action of Jābān and Mardānshāh, left behind ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr as his deputy and went forth with light cavalry, heading toward the two of them. They supposed that he was in flight, wherefore they opposed him, but he took them both prisoner. The people of Ullays rebelled against the troops of the two commanders and brought those troops as prisoners [to al-Muthannā], who gave the Ullaysīs a treaty of protection. He brought forward the two commanders to say, "You two deceived our commander, lying to him and inciting him!" Then he beheaded them and beheaded the prisoners, whereupon he went back to his [2183] camp.

Abū Miḥjan[963] fled from Ullays and did not return with al-Muthannā.

Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh, Ḥanẓalah b. al-Rabīʿ, and a group [of others] asked Khālid for permission [to go] while at Suwā. He permitted them, so that they came to Abū Bakr. Jarīr mentioned his request to him, whereat he said, "In our condition?" and delayed [responding to] him about it. When ʿUmar became the ruler, he summoned him to show proof, which Jarīr then demonstrated. Then ʿUmar wrote for

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962. Qurʾān, 8: 16.

963. Abū Miḥjan ʿAmr b. Ḥabīb b. ʿAmr b. ʿUmayr al-Thaqafī, he embraced Islam in 9/631. He was a celebrated poet who is the hero of a small epic in which he is punished by the caliph ʿUmar for drinking wine but redeems himself by fighting bravely at al-Qādisiyyah. He later died in Ādharbayjān or Jurjān. See *EI²*, s.v. Abū Miḥdjan; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 118; II, 174; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 926, 930–32, 935, 955; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 515; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 109; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 308–9, 316–17, 319; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XXI, 137–43; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, IV, 182–87; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 173–76 (criticizing Sayf); Donner, *Conquests*, 376, 385, 400.

him to his taxgathering agents among all of the Arabs, "Whoever has in his district anyone who belonged to the Bajīlah[964] in the Jāhiliyyah and has remained in it in Islam, that being recognized, send him to Jarīr." Jarīr appointed a place for them [to meet] between Iraq and Medina. When Jarīr was granted his request to bring forth the Bajīlah from among the people, he collected them together. When they were brought forth to him, he ordered them to an appointed meeting in the land between Mecca, Medina, and Iraq. Their gathering completed, ʿUmar said to Jarīr, "Go forth until you join al-Muthannā." Jarīr said, "Rather, Syria." ʿUmar said, "Rather, Iraq, for the forces in Syria have become strong against their foe." But he refused until ʿUmar compelled him. When they had gone forth to [join] Jarīr and he had ordered them to meet at the appointed time, ʿUmar gave him compensation for having compelled him and to benefit him, making over to him a quarter of the fifth of what God had bestowed on them as spoils in their campaigns. This was for him, those who gathered to him, and those who had been brought forth to him from among the tribes. He said [to them], "Come to us on your way." Thus, they came to Medina, then they departed from it for Iraq, as reinforcements for al-Muthannā. He also sent forth ʿIṣmah b. ʿAbdallāh of the Banū ʿAbd b. al-Ḥārith al-Ḍabbī with those of the Banū Ḍabbah[965] who followed him. He had also written to the former apostates (*ahl al-riddah*), but none came in Shaʿbān (30 September–28 October 634) except those whom he dispatched to al-Muthannā.

[2184]

Al-Buwayb[966]

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād, according to their *isnād*: Al-Muthannā sent [a summons] to those rein-

964. They were a Yemenī tribe scattered in the mountains of al-Sarāh, in what is now southern Saudi Arabia. They played a role in the conquest of Iraq and were active there subsequently, especially at al-Kūfah. See *EI²*, s.v. Badjīla; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 221; II, 45–46, 219.

965. They were an important tribal grouping of northeastern Arabia originating in the area southwest of modern al-Kuwayt. They were a part of the Ribāb confederacy, but later became a tribal regiment at both al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah, where they were included in the Tamīm tribal division though they were not originally a part of the Tamīm. See *EI²*, s.v. Ḍabba b. Udd; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 59; II, 11, 240.

966. This battle is reported only by Sayf, who either has elaborated it out of Ibn Isḥāq's tradition given below, pp. 213–15, or has further embroidered an already-elaborated tribal tradition emanating from the Rabīʿah, as is perhaps more likely. Even

forcements who were near him, so that they came to him all together in a huge mass. [News of] that reached Rustam and al-Fayruzān, as the spies brought it to them, as well as bringing [information about] what [further] reinforcement the Muslims were expecting. At this, the two of them agreed to send forth Mihrān al-Hamadhānī,[967] until the two of them considered their view [of matters further]. Thus, Mihrān set out with the cavalry, his two superiors having ordered him to attack al-Ḥīrah.

The news reached al-Muthannā while he was encamped at Marj al-Sibākh[968] between al-Qādisiyyah and Khaffān with those Arabs who had reinforced him because of the news of Bashīr and Kinānah.[969] Bashīr was at that time in al-Ḥīrah. Al-Muthannā thoroughly probed Furāt Bādaqlā and sent a message to Jarīr and those with him, [saying,] "Something has come to us that we cannot stand against until you reach us, so therefore hurry to catch up with us. Your appointed meeting [place] is al-Buwayb." Jarīr was reinforcing him. He also wrote to ʿIṣmah and those with him—ʿIṣmah was likewise reinforcing him — and to every leader who had provided him with the like of that, "Take the way of al-Jawf,"[970] so that they followed the route of al-Qādisiyyah and al-Jawf, while al-Muthannā followed the route through the middle of al-Sawād, coming out in al-Nahrayn, then going on to al-Khawarnaq. ʿIṣmah came out at al-Najaf, along with those following his route with him. Jarīr came out in al-Jawf, along with those following his route with him. Then they came to al-Muthannā, who was at al-Buwayb, while Mihrān was across the Euphrates in front of him.

Thus, the Muslims' troops gathered at al-Buwayb, which is near the present location of al-Kūfah. Al-Muthannā was in command. They faced Mihrān and his troops. Al-Muthannā asked a man from

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Donner, *Conquests*, 198–200, who is reticent about attacking Sayf's traditions elsewhere, doubts that the battle took place at all. Ibn Khayyāṭ makes no mention of it.

967. His father was Mihribundādh or Bādhān. He was killed in 14/635. He is mentioned twice in poetry quoted by Abū Mikhnaf. See Ṭabarī, I, 2378; II, 152, 1038; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 311, 419. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 162, says he was killed at al-Nukhaylah by al-Mundhir b. Ḥassān al-Ḍabbī and Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī.

968. Unidentified.

969. The referent of this name is unknown. It could be an error, for Ms. IH[1] reads *kitābihi*, which would mean "his letter." But see Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIV.

970. Evidently it is a place in the desert west of al-Ḥīrah, certainly not the well-known modern al-Jawf in northern Arabia.

[2185] the inhabitants of al-Sawād, "What is the piece of land that Mihrān and his troops are on called?" The Sawādī replied, "Basūsiyā."[971] Al-Muthannā went on, "Mihrān's [efforts] have not availed and he has perished!" Al-Muthannā camped at a site that is al-Basūs and remained in his place until Mihrān wrote to him, "Either you cross over to us, or we cross over to you." Al-Muthannā answered, "Cross over." Thus, Mihrān crossed over and descended on the shore of the [same] side of the river as the Muslims. Al-Muthannā asked that man, "What is this piece of land that Mihrān and his troops descended on called?" The man replied, "Shūmiyā."[972] That was in Ramaḍān (29 October–27 November 634).

Al-Muthannā called out to the troops, "Rush upon your enemy," whereupon the two sides attacked one another. Al-Muthannā had put his troops in battle formation, giving command of his two flanks to Madhʿūr and al-Nusayr.[973] ʿĀṣim was in charge of the light cavalry, and ʿIṣmah was in charge of the skirmishers. When the two sides were arranged for battle, al-Muthannā stood up among the troops to speak, saying, "You are fasting. As fasting makes [one] weak and feeble, I believe it would be wise for you to break your fast. Then, with food, you will be strong enough to fight your enemy." They said, "Certainly," and broke their fast.

Al-Muthannā noticed a man ready for his chance to spring forth from the line. He asked, "What is the matter with this [man]?" They answered, "He was among those who fled from the advance on the Day of the Bridge and [now] intends to seek death in battle." Al-Muthannā thereupon hit him with his lance, saying, "You bastard, stick to your place! If your equal comes against you, then save your companion from him, but do not seek death in battle." The man replied, "I am indeed deserving of that," and settled down, sticking to the line.

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971. A place near al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 423.

972. A place beside al-Kūfah on the Euphrates where the *dār al-rizq*, which was storehouse, armory, and treasury, was located at a later date. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 374; Morony, *Iraq*, 63. The element *shūm* might also imply "ill-omened," which may have inspired its inclusion in the story.

973. Al-Nusayr b. Daysam b. Thawr al-ʿIjlī. He participated in the conquests of Iraq and Iran as far as Nihāwand, then is last reported by Sayf to have been governor of Hamadhān in 34–35/655–56. See Ṭabarī, I, 2484, 2616, 2628, 2648, 2928, 3058; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 160; II, 453; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 304–5; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 133–34; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 584; Donner, *Conquests*, 373, 386, 434–35.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū Isḥāq al-Shaybānī: The like of it.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAṭiyyah, and Sufyān al-Aḥmarī—al-Mujālid — al-Shaʿbī: When the army of the Bajīlah was collected, ʿUmar said, "Come to us on your way." Thus, the leaders of the Bajīlah and their delegation set out to [go to] him, leaving the mass [of troops] behind. ʿUmar asked them, "To which of the fronts would you prefer to go?" They replied, "Syria, for our brethren by marriage are in it." He then said, "Rather Iraq, for Syria has enough [forces already]." He did not cease insisting to them and they refusing him until that was decided on and he assigned them a quarter of the fifth of what God had bestowed on the Muslims as booty, in addition to their [proper] share of the booty. He appointed ʿArfajah[974] to be in charge of those of the Bajīlah who had been residing among the Jadīlah,[975] and Jarīr[976] to be in charge of those who were living among[977] the Banū ʿĀmir[978] and others. Abū Bakr had put him in charge of fighting the people of ʿUmān, along with several others, and then brought him back when he campaigned by sea. Then ʿUmar gave him charge of the main part of the Bajīlah. He said, "Heed this one,"[979] and said to the others, "Heed Jarīr." [2186]

Jarīr said to the Bajīlah, "Do you acknowledge this one, even though he has brought in among us what he has brought?" For the Bajīlah were wroth with ʿArfajah on account of a woman from

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974. ʿArfajah b. Harthamah b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā al-Bāriqī al-Azdī, he was probably born in al-Sarāh, as he commanded the Bajīlah although he himself was of the Azd. After helping to suppress the Riddah in ʿUmān, he campaigned in southern Iraq, then fought at al-Qādisiyyah, and later was the first Muslim governor of al-Mawṣil. See Ṭabarī, I, 1881, 1929, 1977–80, 2269, 2382, 2472, 2477, 2481, 2548, 2552; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 202; II, 192; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 407–10, 419, 476 (under Harthamah b. ʿArfajah); Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 162, 164; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 481; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 474–75; Donner, *Conquests*, 86–87, 196–97, 216, 382, 399, 417, 425.

975. A smaller tribal grouping consisting of the ʿAdwān and the Fahm, and associated in the genealogy with the Bāhilah and the Ghanī. Their original homeland was at al-Barām northeast of Mecca and east of Medina about 120 km. on the road to Najd. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 92; II, 22, 252; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 243–44; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 366–67 (under al-Barām).

976. Text: Jarīrun; read: Jarīran, as Cairo ed.

977. Text: *min*; read: *fī*, as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIV.

978. A great tribal grouping of nomadic tribes located between al-Ḥijāz and Najd in west central Arabia extending as far as 44° E. See *EI²*, s.v. Banū ʿĀmir (b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa); Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 92; II, 13–16, 163–64.

979. That is, ʿArfajah.

among them. Therefore, they met and came to ʿUmar to say, "Relieve us of ʿArfajah." He replied, "I will not relieve you of the earliest of you in migration and Islam and the greatest of you in bravery and doing good." They went on, "Put in charge of us a man from among us. Do not put us under an interloper among us." ʿUmar, thinking that they were rejecting ʿArfajah's [true] genealogy, said, "Look at what you are saying!" They said, "We are saying what you will hear."

ʿUmar sent a message to ʿArfajah saying, "These have asked me to relieve them from you. They have claimed that you are not from them. What do you have [to say]?" He answered, "They have spoken the truth, nor would it please me to be from them. I am a man of the Azd, then of the Bāriq,[980] of a house whose number is countless and of a noble lineage that is unmixed." ʿUmar said, "What an excellent group the Azd are! They take their share of the good and the evil." ʿArfajah said, "It befell me that the evil increased dangerously
[2187] among us, although our house is one. Thus, as we had shed blood, so that some among us needed to take revenge from others, I separated myself from them because I was afraid of them. Then I [came to] be among these [Bajalīs], ruling them and leading them. They are resentful of me because of a matter that occurred between me and their *dihqāns*. They have envied me and treated me ungratefully." ʿUmar said, "It will not harm you to separate from them when they do not like you." He then appointed Jarīr in his place, bringing together the Bajīlah under him. He also revealed to Jarīr and the Bajīlah that he would send ʿArfajah to Syria; that made Jarīr like Iraq.

Jarīr led his people forth as reinforcements for al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah until he stopped at Dhū Qār. Then he went up until, when he was at al-Jull[981] and al-Muthannā was at Marj al-Sibākh, the news came to al-Muthannā about the report of Bashīr, who was at al-Ḥīrah, that the Persians had sent forth Mihrān, who had set out from al-Madāʾin heading toward al-Ḥīrah. Al-Muthannā sent messages to Jarīr and ʿIṣmah urging [them to come] with haste. ʿUmar had exacted a promise from them not to cross any body of water nor any bridge except after a victory. They gathered at al-Buwayb. The two

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980. A subtribe of the Azd al-Sarāh from southwestern Arabia. Part of this group migrated to al-Kūfah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 202, II, 224.

981. A place deep in the desert some 170 km. south of al-Kūfah on the road from al-Qādisiyyah to Mecca, it still has the same name. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 155–56; Musil, *Northern Neǧd*, 236 and accompanying map of northern Arabia (k 19).

armies gathered on the east shore of al-Buwayb. Al-Buwayb had been a sink [for overflow from] the Euphrates on days of flooding in Persian times; it flowed into al-Jawf. The polytheists were at the site of Dār al-Rizq,[982] and the Muslims were at the location of the Sakūn.[983]

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb b. Ibrāhīm—Sayf b. ʿUmar—ʿAṭiyyah and al-Mujālid, according to their *isnād*: The warriors of the Banū Kinānah and the Azd came to ʿUmar seven hundred strong altogether. He asked them, "Which front is preferable to you?" They answered, "Syria, our brethren by marriage, our brethren by marriage!" He said, "That [front] you have already taken care of. Iraq, Iraq! Leave aside a country that God has reduced in power and number. Turn your faces to fighting a people who possess various kinds [2188] of livelihood, for it may be that God will give them to you as an inheritance along with your share of that, so you will live with whoever of the people is living." Then Ghālib b. so-and-so al-Laythī[984] and ʿArfajah al-Bāriqī said, each to his own people, among whom he had stood up, "O brethren, heed the Commander of the Faithful in what he deems [necessary] and put into effect for him that [mission] that he has lodged in you." They responded, "We obey you and heed the Commander of the Faithful in what he deems [necessary] and desires." Then ʿUmar prayed for good for them, saying it to them. He made Ghālib b. ʿAbdallāh the commander of the Banū Kinānah and dispatched him. He made ʿArfajah b. Harthamah the commander of the Azd, most of whom were from the Bāriq. They rejoiced at the return of ʿArfajah to them. Each of them set forth leading his people until they both came to al-Muthannā.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad and ʿAmr, according to their *isnād*: Hilāl b. ʿUllafah al-Taymī[985] went forth with those of

982. Identified with Shūmiyā on p. 198, above.

983. Presumably the later location of the quarter of al-Kūfah that contained the dwellings of the Sakūn branch of the Kindah.

984. Ghālib b. ʿAbdallāh, he led several campaigns for the Prophet. Although Sayf alone mentions him later, Ibn al-Kalbī says that he fell at Fadak in the Prophet's lifetime. However, Ibn Ḥajar considers this a mistake. See Ṭabarī, I, 1364, 1592–93, 1597–98, 1600, 1758, 1762, 2233; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 37; II, 271; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 5–6, 723–24, 726–27, 750, 752; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 622; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 45, 72; Yaʿqūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 76, 78; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, III, 183; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 183–84; Donner, *Conquests*, 385, 388–89, 402.

985. Of the Taym al-Ribāb, he is one of those claiming to have killed Rustam, the Persian commander, at al-Qādisiyyah. Though he is found mainly in traditions that definitely or probably have come through Sayf, Ibn Khayyāṭ attests his existence by

the Ribāb[986] who had gathered to him until he came to ʿUmar, who put him in command of them and sent him off, so that he reached al-Muthannā. Ibn al-Muthannā al-Jushamī[987] — the Jusham of the Saʿd[988] — also went forth until he came to ʿUmar, who sent him out, appointing him commander of the Banū Saʿd. He also came to al-Muthannā.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Mujālid — al-Shaʿbī; and ʿAṭiyyah, according to their *isnād*: ʿAbdallāh b. Dhī al-Sahmayn[989] came with men from the Khathʿam.[990] ʿUmar made him their commander and sent him to al-Muthannā. He went out in his direction until he reached him.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad and ʿAmr, according to their *isnād*: Ribʿī[991] brought men from the Banū Ḥanẓalah.[992] ʿUmar

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an independent *isnād* once. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 85; II, 418, 437, omits him, though he includes two other sons of ʿUllafah, both of whom fought as Khārijites against ʿAlī. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 120, 123; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 317; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 165; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 186; Donner, *Conquests*, 385, 397, 408.

986. A confederacy of Muḍar tribes from northeastern Arabia that included the Taym, ʿAdī, and Thawr b. ʿAbd Manāh b. Udd, as well as the ʿUkl and the Ḍabbah b. Udd. This confederacy was then in alliance with the Saʿd Tamīm. See *EI²*, s.v. Ḍabba b. Udd; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 85–87, 89–91; II, 10, 486.

987. Unidentified and not mentioned elsewhere.

988. A small subtribe of the Saʿd Tamīm that combined with other small Saʿdī groups to form the Abnāʾ. Because the Jusham's members evidently were scattered among several larger groups, they have differing genealogies: Jusham b. Saʿd, Jusham b. ʿAbshams b. Saʿd, Jusham b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbshams b. Saʿd, Jusham b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd, Jusham b. al-Ḥārith al-Aʿraj b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd, and Jusham b. Rabīʿah al-Ḥibāq b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd, of which only the first appears to represent the Jusham as an independent unit within the Saʿd. The extremely large number of other Jushams, mostly clans rather than individuals, points to an earlier larger grouping having been scattered among many tribes. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 75, 78; II, 267–69. Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, III, 278–81, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, I, 227–28, do not even mention any Jusham of the Tamīm, as these were probably early absorbed into other Tamīmī groups.

989. Apparently mentioned only in Sayf's traditions in al-Ṭabarī. See Ṭabarī, I, 2225, 2329, 2335, 2552, 2633; Donner, *Conquests*, 196, 385, 402, 435.

990. A large tribe located in ʿAsīr. One of its branches, the Shahrān, still resides in its original homeland. See *EI²*, s.v. Khathʿam; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 221, 224–26; II, 45–46, 345.

991. Ribʿī b. Ḥuṣayn al-Riyāḥī of the Ḥanẓalah Tamīm, he is wrongly identified in Ṭabarī, *Indices*, 189, as Ribʿī b. ʿĀmir al-Usayyidī of the ʿAmr Tamīm. Crone, *Slaves*, 118, has also mixed up the two Ribʿīs. Actually, Ribʿī al-Riyāḥī seems to appear only in this one place in the tradition. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 68; II, 487; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 525, and next two notes.

992. One of the three great branches of the Tamīm, the Ḥanẓalah included the two large subdivisions of the Dārim and the Yarbūʿ, each of which contained a number of clans that became tribal regiments under the Islamic state. See *EI²*, s.v. Ḥanẓala b. Mālik; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 59; II, 8–9, 298.

made him their commander and dispatched them. They went along until he brought them to al-Muthannā. His son Shabath b. Rib'ī[993] led them after him. Men from the Banū 'Amr[994] came to him as well. He made Rib'ī b. 'Āmir b. Khālid al-'Anūd their commander and sent him to join al-Muthannā. When men from the Banū Ḍabbah came to him, he arranged them in two divisions, putting Ibn Hawbar[995] in command of one of the two divisions and al-Mundhir b. Ḥassān[996] in command of the other. Qurṭ b. Jammāḥ[997] came to him leading the 'Abd al-Qays,[998] and 'Umar sent him forward. [2189]

All: Al-Fayruzān and Rustam agreed to send forth Mihrān to fight al-Muthannā. The two of them sought permission from Būrān. When they needed something, they would approach her chamberlains so that they might speak with her about it. They said what they thought, informing her of the size of the army. The Persians

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993. Al-Riyāḥī al-Tamīmī, he had a spectacular career. Doubtfully said to have started as a *mu'adhdhin* of the false prophetess Sajāḥ, he became a Muslim and migrated to al-Kūfah, where he became an important leader. Later, he enthusiastically supported 'Alī against 'Uthmān, but after Ṣiffīn became a Khārijite and fought against 'Alī at al-Nahrawān. Still later, he was among those who urged al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī to come to al-Kūfah, but then deserted him and actually fought against him. He remained a leader, surviving until at least 68/687–88, after which he seems to have died peacefully. In this case, we once again see Sayf emphasizing the role of a prominent anti-'Alid in the early conquests. In view of Shabath's role in the second civil war, any significant role for him in the conquests over fifty years earlier is improbable. See Ṭabarī, I, 1919, 3148, 3265, 3270–72, 3274–76, 3349, 3380, 3387–88; II, 27, 104, 133, 234, 256–57, 272, 329–30, 343–44, 347, 535, 614, 619, 621–24, 626, 629–32, 649–50, 652, 654–55, 657, 703–4, 716, 718, 759, 761; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 68; II, 521; Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 97–98, 187–88, 195, 197, 199, 205, 294; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 216; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 216–17, 221; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 119; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 223; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 223; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 163; Crone, *Slaves*, 118; Donner, *Conquests*, 385.

994. The 'Amr b. Tamīm, they constituted the third and smallest of the major branches of the Tamīm tribal grouping. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 59; II, 10, 184–85.

995. Presumably a Ḍabbī, he is further unidentified and found only in Sayf's transmissions. See also Ṭabarī, I, 2619; Donner, *Conquests*, 195, 383, 434.

996. Al-Ḍabbī, he was slain by al-Mukhtār's followers in al-Kūfah in 66/686. He is yet another anti-'Alid leader whose role in the conquests is displayed prominently in Sayf's transmissions. See Ṭabarī, II, 633, 750; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 89; II, 429; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 311, 389; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 162; Donner, *Conquests*, 195, 384, 397, 410.

997. Al-'Abdī. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 170; II, 472; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 311, 317; Donner, *Conquests*, 195, 385, 403.

998. A great tribal group of the Rabī'ah in eastern Arabia in al-Aḥsā', they formed the smallest of the five later army divisions (*akhmās*) in al-Baṣrah and Khurāsān. See *EI²*, s.v. 'Abd al-Ḳays; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 141; II, 28–29, 127.

used not to send out many expeditions until the matter of the Arabs came up. When the two of them told her of the great size of the army's numbers, she asked, "Why will the Persians not go forth against the Arabs as they used to go forth before today? Why do you two not send forth [expeditions] as the kings used to send forth before today?" They replied, "Fear was with our enemy at that time but is among us today." She supported them, knowing what they had brought her [was true].

[2190] Thus, Mihrān went along with his army until he encamped on the nearer side of the Euphrates, while al-Muthannā and his army were on the [opposite shore] of the Euphrates, the Euphrates being between them. Anas b. Hilāl al-Namarī[999] came to reinforce al-Muthannā with men from the Namir who were Christians and traders (*jullāb*) who brought horses. Ibn Mirdā al-Fihr al-Taghlibī, who is ʿAbdallāh b. Kulayb b. Khālid,[1000] came leading men from the Banū Taghlib who were Christians and traders who brought horses. When they saw the Arabs camping beside the Persians, they said, "We will fight with our people." Mihrān said, "Either you cross over to us, or else we will cross over to you." The Muslims responded, "Cross over to us." They then departed from Basūsiyā for Shūmiyā, which is the site of Dār al-Rizq.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥaffiz — his father:[1001] When they were permitted to cross, the Persians descended on Shūmiyā, the site of Dār al-Rizq and put themselves into battle formation there. Then they advanced against the Muslims in three lines. Each line had an elephant, with their infantry before their elephant. They came on shouting. Al-Muthannā declared, "What you hear is cowardice. Therefore, remain silent and consult

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999. He is apparently mentioned only in Sayf's transmissions. See Donner, *Conquests*, 336 nn. 158 and 163, 385.

1000. Despite his generous nomenclature, he appears only in Sayf's report in this place. See Donner, *Conquests*, 336 nn. 158 and 163, 384.

1001. Muḥaffiz (or Muḥaffir) b. Thaʿlabah b. Murrah al-ʿĀʾidhī, a Kūfan, he signed the document approving the execution of Ḥujr b. ʿAdī and his companions in 51/671. Later, he was infamous for bringing the head of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī to Damascus in 61/680. See Ṭabarī, II, 133, 375–76, 380; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 30; II, 421; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 441; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 174. It is extremely interesting that Sayf quotes such a person as a source. Not only is this yet another indication of Sayf's anti-ʿAlid tendency, but it also is a sign of the anti-ʿAlid countercurrent that continued to exist in the mainly pro-ʿAlid city of al-Kūfah.

by whispering." They approached the Muslims, coming at them from the direction of Nahr Banī Sulaym,[1002] approximately the site [2191] of the present Nahr Banī Sulaym. When they drew near, they marched slowly, while the Muslims' line was between the present Nahr Banī Sulaym and what is behind it.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: Al-Muthannā's two flanks were commanded by Bashīr and Busr b. Abī Ruhm, while the light horse was commanded by al-Muʿannā. Masʿūd had charge of the infantry. Before that day, al-Nusayr commanded the skirmishers. Madhʿūr was in charge of the covering force. Mihrān's two flanks were commanded by Ibn al-Āzādhbih the governor of al-Ḥīrah and Mardānshāh. When al-Muthannā went forth, he went about among the ranks, charging them with obligation to himself while on his horse, al-Shamūs. It was called al-Shamūs owing to its mild temper and cleanness. When he mounted it, he would fight, for he would not ride it except to fight, keeping it in reserve as long as there was no battle. He reviewed the battle standards one by one, spurring them on, giving them his command, and setting them in good spirits by [reminding them of] the best of their qualities as an incentive to them. To each of them he would say, "I earnestly hope that the Arabs will not be ruined because of you today. By God, nothing will please me on my own account today except what pleases me on account of all of you." They responded similarly. Al-Muthannā was judicious in [both] word and deed. He would mix with the people in both hard and fair circumstances. No one among them could criticize him in either word or deed. Then he said, "I am going to shout 'God is Greater' three times. Therefore, prepare yourselves; then attack on the fourth [shout]."

But when he shouted the first "God is Greater" the Persians anticipated them, attacking them in haste and falling upon them with the first "God is Greater." When the battle slowed down for a while, al-Muthannā noticed gaps in certain of his lines. At this, he sent a man to them to say, "The commander greets you in peace and says, 'Do not put the Muslims to shame today.'" They said, "Of course," [2192] and redistributed themselves in a balanced way. Before that, they

1002. An unidentified canal probably located in the Sulaym quarter of the later, expanded al-Kūfah.

had been looking at him while he was pulling at his beard because of what he beheld from them. Thus they paid attention to a matter that no one of the Muslims had brought [before them] on that day. Then they cast a glance at him and saw him laughing in joy. The people [concerned] were the Banū ʿIjl.

When the battle became prolonged and severe, al-Muthannā directed himself to Anas b. Hilāl to say, "O Anas, you are an Arab man even if you do not follow our religion. When you see me attack Mihrān, attack with me." He also told Ibn Mirdā al-Fihr the like of that. Both of them[1003] responded. Al-Muthannā then charged Mihrān, pushing him back until he went into his right wing. Then the Muslims fell upon them, so that the two centers joined [in combat] and dust rose up, while the wings fought as well. Neither the polytheists nor the Muslims were able to break free to aid their commander. Masʿūd was brought out of the battle wounded on that day, along with other Muslim commanders. He had said to them, "If you see us struck down, do not leave off what you are doing, for the army will retreat and then turn away. Stick to your battle formation. Add your help to the strength of those near you." The Muslims' center wreaked pain in the polytheists' center. A boy from the Taghlibīs who was a Christian slew Mihrān and mounted his horse. Al-Muthannā assigned his spoils to the commander of his horsemen. Likewise, if a polytheist was leading the horses of a man and was then killed and despoiled, the spoils went to the commander of the one who did the killing. He had two commanders, one of whom was Jarīr and the other was Ibn al-Hawbar. The two of them divided his arms.

[2193] Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥaffiz—his father Muḥaffiz b. Thaʿlabah: Young men from the Banū Taghlib brought horses [to sell]. When they saw the two armies meet on the Day of al-Buwayb, they said, "We will fight the Persians with the Arabs." One of them struck down Mihrān on that day, while Mihrān was astride a reddish bay horse of his armored with a yellow coat of mail, with a crescent between its eyes and crescents of brass on its tail. The boy mounted Mihrān's horse and then, tracing his origin, [said,] "I am the Taghlibī boy; I have slain the governor!" Jarīr and Ibn al-Hawbar came to him with their people and, taking his leg, made him descend.

1003. Text: *ajābahu*; read: *ajābāhu*, as Ms. IH and note to the Leiden ed.

Al-Sarī — Shu'ayb — Sayf — Sa'īd b. al-Marzubān: Jarīr and al-Mundhir participated in it and disputed over his arms, bringing their contention to al-Muthannā for a decision. He assigned his arms [to be divided] between them, and his belt and two bracelets [to be divided] between them. Then the Muslims annihilated the polytheists' center.

Al-Sarī — Shu'ayb — Sayf — Abū Rawq: By God, whenever we would come to al-Buwayb, we would see in the area between the site of al-Sakūn and the Banū Sulaym[1004] heaps of white bones, including heads and limbs, from which a warning would be taken. Certain of those who participated in it told me that they guessed them to be one hundred thousand. They were not effaced until they were buried by the rubble[1005] of houses.

Al-Sarī — Shu'ayb — Sayf — Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: Al-Muthannā stood his ground when the dust rose up until the dust cleared away. The polytheists' center had been annihilated. Meanwhile, the flanks had dashed against each other. When they saw that [2194] he had removed the center and annihilated its troops, the flanks — the Muslims' flanks — were strengthened against the polytheists and began to make the Persians turn their backs [in flight]. Meanwhile, al-Muthannā and the Muslims in the center were praying for victory for them. He also sent them someone to incite them, saying, "Al-Muthannā says, 'Your customs are [preserved] in the likes of you. If you support God, he will support you,' "[1006] until they defeated the enemy. Al-Muthannā raced them to the bridge, preceding them, and took the Persians, who scattered on the shore of the Euphrates, [some] going upstream and [some] going downstream. The Muslims' cavalry took them by turns until they killed them, then piled them in heaps. No battle between the Arabs and Persians left more enduring remains than this. When Mas'ūd b. Ḥārithah was carried wounded from the battlefield on that day, having been struck before the rout, those with him were weakened. Seeing that, he said, in spite of his serious wounds, "O tribe of the Bakr b. Wā'il! Raise up your standard, may God raise you up! Do not by any means let

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1004. The Sulaym b. Manṣūr were a major nomadic Muḍarī tribe whose lands originally were located east of Medina. Later, they played a prominent role in Iraq and Khurāsān. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 92; II, 18–19, 517.

1005. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, CCXLII, DCXV.

1006. Qur'ān 47: 7.

my prostration frighten you." Anas b. Hilāl al-Namarī fought on that day until he was carried wounded from the battlefield. Al-Muthannā carried him from it, joining him and joining Masʿūd to himself. Qurṭ b. Jammāḥ al-ʿAbdī fought so [hard] on that day that he broke spears and cut swords. He also killed Shahrbarāz,[1007] one of the Persian *dihqāns* who was the commander of Mihrān's light cavalry.

When they were done, al-Muthannā sat down before the people, after finishing, so that he might speak to them and they to him. Whenever a man would come to speak, he said to him, "Tell me about yourself." Qurṭ b. al-Jammāḥ told him, "I slew a man and
[2195] found the smell of musk [coming] from him. I said, 'Mihrān!' hoping that it would be he, but it turned out to be the Master of the Horse Shahrbarāz. By God, I did not think him anything, for he was not Mihrān." Al-Muthannā said,

> I have fought the Arabs and the Persians in both the Jāhiliyyah and Islam. By God, one hundred of the Persians in the Jāhiliyyah were indeed stronger to me than one thousand of the Arabs. But today one hundred of the Arabs are indeed stronger to me than one thousand of the Persians. God has taken away their credibility and rendered their trickery weak. Therefore by no means let a [large] number that you see, nor a great multitude, nor tightly drawn bows, nor long arrows scare you, for, if they are attacked quickly so that they cannot use them, or if they lose them, they are like dumb beasts: wherever you direct them, they go.

Speaking to al-Muthannā, Ribʿī said, "When I saw the fighting and its heat slowing down, I said, 'Protect yourselves with your shields as hiding places, for they are going to attack you. Persevere for two assaults, and I promise you victory in the third.' They answered my [wish], by God, so that God fulfilled my promise." Ibn Dhī al-Sahmayn said in his speech, "I said to my companions, 'I heard the commander reciting and mentioning terror in his recita-

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1007. This alleged person appears only in this one place in Sayf's traditions. He probably is an invention imitating the name of Khusraw II's general and the later ill-fated usurper of 629 or 630 C.E., for the name does not appear to have been a common one, but rather was an exceptional title.

tion. He did not mention it except for the excellence that he possesses. Follow your standard. Let your horse protect your foot, then attack. There is no breach of promise in God's word.' God carried through his promise to them, and it was as I had hoped." ʿArfajah said in his speech,

> We drove a regiment of them to the Euphrates. I hoped that God would permit them to drown and thereby console us for the disaster of the Bridge. When they had begun to be in difficult straits, they counterattacked against us. We [2196] fought them hard until certain of my people said, "If only you were to hold back your standard." I responded, "The responsibility for advancing it is mine." I charged with it against their rear guard [commander], killing him. Then they turned toward the Euphrates in flight, but none of them reached it alive.

Ribʿī b. ʿĀmir b. Khālid said, "I was with my father on the Day of al-Buwayb."

Al-Buwayb was named the Day of the Tens. One hundred men were enumerated, each of whom had killed ten in the battle on that day. ʿUrwah b. Zayd al-Khayl[1008] was among those who killed nine. Ghālib, leading the Banū Kinānah, was also of those who killed nine. ʿArfajah, leading the Azd, was among those who killed nine. The polytheists were slain in the area between the present al-Sakūn and the shore of the Euphrates, the east bank of al-Buwayb. That was because of al-Muthannā, at the time of the rout, beat them to the bridge, taking it against them, so that they scattered to the right and the left. The Muslims pursued them into the night and the next day into the [second] night.

Al-Muthannā regretted having taken the bridge. He said, "I indeed made a mistake, whose evil was averted by God, when I raced them to the bridge and cut it so that they were put in hard straits. I will not repeat it, nor do you repeat it or imitate my example, O peo-

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1008. Al-Ṭāʾī, he fought at al-Qādisiyyah, participated in further conquests in Iran, and later fell in Daylam. He is also said to have survived until ʿAlī's reign and to have fought on his side at Ṣiffīn, but there is no mention of this in Ibn Muzāḥim. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 257; II, 575; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 108–10; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 307–8, 389–90; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 476; Donner *Conquests*, 378, 385, 431, 438.

ple, for it was a slip from me. One ought not to put anyone in hard straits unless it is someone who cannot defend himself." Some of the Muslims' outstanding men who were among the wounded died, including Khālid b. Hilāl[1009] and Masʿūd b. Ḥārithah. Al-Muthannā prayed over them, giving them precedence over the spear blades and swords and saying, "By God, it indeed makes my sadness easier that they took part in al-Buwayb and fought boldly and patiently, neither
[2197] becoming anxious nor shrinking [from the fight], and that there is in martyrdom an atonement that allows their sins to pass."

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: Al-Muthannā, ʿIṣmah, and Jarīr gained on the way (*ʿalā ẓahr*)[1010] the stores of Mihrān as spoils, including sheep, flour, and cattle. They sent these to the families of those who had come from the people of Medina whom they had left behind at al-Qawādis,[1011] and to the families of those who had fought in the earliest battles (*ahl al-ayyām*) before them. They were at al-Ḥīrah. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. Buqaylah was the guide for those who had gone with the portion [of the stores] belonging to the families who were at al-Qawādis. When the women saw them from afar and saw the horses, they screamed, supposing it to be an attack, and stood up to defend the children with stones and poles. ʿAmr declared, "Such is fitting for the women of this army." They gave them the good news of the victory, saying, "This is [just] the beginning." Al-Nusayr was in charge of the horsemen who brought them the stores. He stayed with his horses in order to protect them, while ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ returned to spend the night at al-Ḥīrah.

On that day, al-Muthannā said, "Who will lead the men in pursuit until he reaches al-Sīb?" Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh stood up in the midst of his men to say,

> O people of the Bajīlah! You and all those who participated in this battle are equal in priority, excellence, and gallantry. But no one among them will obtain tomorrow the like of what you will obtain from this booty, for yours is a quarter of the fifth, by [the order of] the Commander of the

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1009. Unidentified and mentioned only in this place by Sayf. Donner, *Conquests*, 385, speculates that he might be the brother of the Anas b. Hilāl al-Namarī mentioned on pp. 204, 206, 208, above.

1010. This phrase is obscure. It might also mean "through the victory."

1011. Probably it is meant to be the same as al-Qādisiyyah.

> Faithful. Therefore, do not let anyone be faster against this enemy nor fiercer against him than yourselves, for [the sake of] that which is yours from him, and [to show] a good intention toward that which you hope for. For you are only waiting for one of the two best things: either martyrdom and [2198] paradise, or else spoils and paradise.

Al-Muthannā was hard on those who, having been defeated on the Day of the Bridge, wanted to seek death in battle. Then he said, "Where is the one who was so ready [to fight] yesterday and his companions? Heed the call [to follow] the tracks of these people to al-Sīb! Get at your enemy with what will enrage him, for, 'it will be better for you and greater in reward. And ask God's forgiveness, for God is the Forgiving, the Merciful.' "[1012]

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Ḥamzah b. ʿAlī b. Muḥaffiz—a man from the Bakr b. Wāʾil: The first man to heed al-Muthannā's call on that day and follow their tracks was the one who had been ready to fight and his companions. He had wanted to go forth from the Muslims' battle line to [fight] the enemy the day before, waiting for his chance and being ready. Al-Muthannā commanded the bridge to be tied in place for them. Then he sent them forth in pursuit of the enemy. The Bajīlah followed them, while the Muslims' cavalry spurred on every horse. Thus they dashed along in pursuit of them until they reached al-Sīb. There did not remain in the Muslim army any participant in the Battle of the Bridge but that he went forth with the cavalry. They took a great amount of cattle, captives, and other goods as spoils, which al-Muthannā divided among them, giving preference to the gallant ones from all the tribes. He allotted to the Bajīlah on that day the fourth of the fifth, [dividing it] among them equally. He sent the [other] three-quarters of it off with ʿIkrimah.[1013] God cast terror into the hearts of the Persians. The leaders who had [2199] led the men in the pursuit wrote to al-Muthannā. ʿĀṣim, ʿIṣmah, and Jarīr wrote, "God has delivered, protected, and turned over to us what you have seen. There is nothing near the people (*qawm*);[1014]

1012. Qurʾān 73: 20, with the addition of "for you."

1013. There is no clue to who this might be. Despite Ṭabarī, *Indices*, 390, it can hardly be ʿIkrimah b. Abī Jahl, whom Sayf has killed on the Syrian front and who is never reported elsewhere in any source on the Iraqī front.

1014. This probably means that the enemy could expect no support, for *qawm* is more commonly used for hostile forces than for friendly ones. Alternatively it could

therefore you may permit us to advance." When he gave them permission, they raided until they reached Sābāṭ. The forces in Sābāṭ fortified themselves against them. They raided the villages near it. The men in the fortress at Sābāṭ rained arrows down on them from their fortifications. The first to enter their fortress were three leaders: ʿIṣmah, ʿĀṣim, and Jarīr. Parties from among all the men followed them. Then they turned away, going back to al-Muthannā.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAṭiyyah b. al-Ḥārith: When God caused Mihrān to perish, the Muslims were able to attack the area of al-Sawād between them and the Tigris. Therefore they plowed into[1015] it, not fearing any trick nor meeting any opposition in it. The Persians' garrisons mutinied and, retreating to their [lines], sought refuge in Sābāṭ. It pleased them to abandon what was beyond the Tigris. The Battle of al-Buwayb was in Ramaḍān 13 (29 October – 27 November 634). God slew Mihrān and his army in it. The Muslims crammed the two sides of al-Buwayb with bones so that it became level. Nothing has effaced them save the dust in the times of the civil war, nor is anything stirred up there but that they discover something of them. It is between al-Sakūn, Murhibah,[1016] and Banū Sulaym. In the times of the Sāsānians, it used to be a backwater of the Euphrates that flowed into al-Jawf. Al-Aʿwar al-ʿAbdī al-Shannī[1017] said:

[2200] The home[land] of the tribe is aroused with sorrows for Aʿwar,
and has taken Khaffān as a substitute after ʿAbd al-Qays.[1018]
He has shown us there, the whole affair being complete,
for at al-Nukhaylah[1019] are the slain ones of Mihrān's army,

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mean that the Muslims' were facing no resistance, which would seem better to fit the context.

1015. Or, "took the best part of."

1016. A quarter of the later al-Kūfah.

1017. Not further identified, he appears only here in Sayf's traditions in al-Ṭabarī.

1018. Here ʿAbd al-Qays seems to refer to the tribe's homeland in eastern Arabia.

1019. The al-Nukhaylah meant here, according to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 278–79, is a waterhole on the right side of the road near al-Mughīthah and al-ʿAqabah, 11 km. from Juwayy, west of Wāqiṣah, and 5 km. from al-Ḥufayr. Judging by the locations of Wāqiṣah and al-ʿAqabah, which still have the same names, this puts it more than 155 km. south-southwest of al-Kūfah on the pilgrimage road to Mecca. However, Sayf's al-Nukhaylah appears to be right at al-Kūfah and on the Euphrates. This latter al-Nukhaylah by a river is also described in the report of Ibn Isḥāq on p. 214, below. See also Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 299, 310–11, 314, 389; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 162; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Bul-*

The times when al-Muthannā went against them with the horses,
so that the army of the Persians and Jīlān[1020] was slaughtered.
He rose up against Mihrān and the army that was with him,
until he annihilated them in pairs and singly.

Abū Ja'far: Ibn Isḥāq has said on the subject of Jarīr, 'Arfajah, and al-Muthannā, and al-Muthannā's fighting Mihrān other than was Sayf has related of reports about them. He has reported on them [the following].

Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: When [news of] the disaster of the men at the bridge reached 'Umar and their defeated remnants had reached him, Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī came to him from Yemen with a party of the Bajīlah and 'Arfajah b. Harthamah. 'Arfajah, who was the lord of the Bajīlah at that time, was a confederate of theirs from the Azd. 'Umar spoke to them saying, "You have learned of what catastrophe befell your brothers in Iraq. Go to them. I will send out to you whoever is from among you in the Arab tribes, thereby bringing them together for you." They said, "We will do so, O Commander of the Faithful. Send out to us the Qays Kubbah,[1021] Suḥmah,[1022] and 'Uraynah."[1023] They were tribes of the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah. 'Umar made 'Arfajah b. Harthamah their commander, but Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī became angry because of that. He said to the Bajīlah, "Speak to the Commander of the Faithful." Thus, they said to 'Umar, "You have put in charge of us a man who is not of us." He then sent a message to 'Arfajah to ask, "What are these [men] saying?" He answered, "They have told the truth, O Commander of the Faithful. I am not of them, but rather I am a man of the Azd. In the Jāhiliyyah, we shed blood among our own people [2201]

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dān, 162–63; Musil, *Northern Neğd*, 234, and accompanying map of northern Arabia (k 19, l 19); Donner, *Conquests*, 198.

1020. Persian Gīlān, it is the Iranian district lying at the southwest corner of the Caspian Sea around the city of Rasht. See *EI²*, s.v. Gīlān; Le Strange, *Lands*, 5, 172–75, maps I and V.

1021. The Qays Kubbah b. al-Ghawth, they lived among the Kilāb of the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah, but they are accounted a part of the Bajīlah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 223; II, 460.

1022. The Suḥmah b. Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh b. Qudād b. Tha'labah b. Mu'āwiyah b. Zayd, they were a subbranch of the Bajīlah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 223; II, 516; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, VII, 89–91; Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, I, 534.

1023. The 'Uraynah b. Nadhīr, they mostly lived among the Kilāb of the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah, but they are accounted part of the Bajīlah, being a subdivision of the Qasr. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 222; II, 574.

and therefore joined the Bajīlah, among whom we reached the [degree of] authority you have heard about." ʿUmar said to him, "Stay firm in your position and repel them as they repel you." ʿArfajah replied, "I will not do so, nor will I go with them." ʿArfajah went to al-Baṣrah after it was settled, abandoning the Bajīlah. ʿUmar appointed Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh as commander of the Bajīlah. His appointment brought them to al-Kūfah. ʿUmar joined his people from the Bajīlah to him.

Jarīr advanced until, when he passed near to al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah, al-Muthannā wrote to him, "Come to me, for you are only a reinforcement for me." Jarīr wrote back to him, "I will not do so unless the Commander of the Faithful orders me to do that. You are a commander, and I am a commander." Then Jarīr headed toward the bridge. Mihrān b. Bādhān, who was one of Persia's great men, met him at al-Nukhaylah, having crossed the bridge to him. They fought a hard battle. Al-Mundhir b. Ḥassān b. Ḍirār al-Ḍabbī attacked Mihrān, stabbing him so that he fell from his horse. Then Jarīr rushed upon him to cut off his head. After that, they quarreled over his spoils, finally coming to an agreement about it. Jarīr took his arms, while al-Mundhir b. Ḥassān took his belt.

[Abū Jaʿfar]: I have been told that Mihrān, when he met Jarīr, said:

If you ask about me, I am Mihrān;
for those who do not recognize me, I am the son of Bādhān.[1024]

I rejected that [report] until one of the knowledgeable scholars whom I do not accuse [of weakness] told me that he was an Arab who had grown up with his father in Yemen when the latter was governor for
[2202] Kisrā. I no longer rejected that [report] when [this latter information] reached me.

Al-Muthannā[1025] wrote to ʿUmar to denounce Jarīr. ʿUmar wrote back to al-Muthannā, "I would not put you in charge of a man from the Companions of Muḥammad," meaning Jarīr. ʿUmar sent Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ to Iraq with six thousand [men] whom he had appointed him to command. He also wrote to al-Muthannā and Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh that the two of them join Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ. He made Saʿd the

1024. This Bādhān is meant to represent the last Persian governor of Yemen, who is said already to have embraced Islam in 10/631. For Bādhān of Yemen, see *EI²*, *Supplement*, s.v. Bādhām, Bādhān.

1025. Ibn Isḥāq's report probably resumes here.

commander of the two of them. Sa'd went along until he stopped at Sharāf,[1026] and al-Muthannā and Jarīr went along until they joined his camp. Sa'd wintered there, while troops gathered to him. Al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah died.

The text reverts to the report of Sayf.

Al-Khanāfis

Al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād, according to their *isnād*: Al-Muthannā penetrated deeply into al-Sawād, leaving Bashīr b. al-Khaṣāṣiyyah behind at al-Ḥīrah. He sent Jarīr to Maysān and Hilāl b. 'Ullafah al-Taymī to Dast-i Maysān.[1027] He strengthened the frontier posts with 'Iṣmah b. so-and-so al-Ḍabbī, al-Kalaj al-Ḍabbī, 'Arfajah al-Bāriqī, and the likes of them among the Muslims' leaders. He began by stopping at Ullays, which was one of the villages of al-Anbār.[1028] This expedition is called "the latter expedition of al-Anbār" and "the latter expedition of Ullays." Two men importuned al-Muthannā, one of them from al-Anbār, the other from al-Ḥīrah, each one pointing out to him a market. As [2203]
for the Anbārī, he directed him to al-Khanāfis, while the Ḥīrī directed him to Baghdādh. Al-Muthannā said, "Which of the two is before the other?" They answered, "Between them are some days." He went on, "Which of them is more immediate?" They replied, "The market of al-Khanāfis is a market to which the people come all together. The Rabī'ah meet at it while the Quḍā'ah protect them."

Thus, al-Muthannā prepared himself for it, so that when he reckoned that he would reach it on its market day, he rode toward them, attacking al-Khanāfis on its market day. In it, there were two groups of horsemen from the Rabī'ah and the Quḍā'ah, the Quḍā'ah under

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1026. A place in the desert some 155 km. to the south-southwest of al-Kūfah on the pilgrimage route, it still retains the same name. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 331; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 109 n. 60, 289, 358; *Northern Neğd*, 193–95, 212, 232–33, 236, and accompanying map of northern Arabia (k 19); Donner, *Conquests*, 203, 298 n. 83.

1027. This was a district of Iraq not identical with Maysān. It was above Maysān and al-Madhār and constituted the most northerly of Maysān's four districts. Its capital was Basāmatā. See *EI*[1], s.v. Maisān; Morony, *Iraq*, 160–61.

1028. This can hardly be the same Ullays as mentioned before, for al-Anbār is far to the northwest of al-Ḥīrah. Most likely, there is a confusion in Sayf's sources about where Ullays actually was.

Rūmānis b. Wabarah[1029] and the Rabīʿah under al-Salīl b. Qays.[1030] They were the guards. Al-Muthannā tore down the market and what was in it and despoiled the guards [of their weapons]. Then he went back toward where he started, until he came suddenly to the *dihqāns* of al-Anbār in the early light of that day (*yawmahu*).[1031] They fortified themselves against him, but when they recognized him, they came down to him, bringing him fodder and supplies and also bringing him guides to show him Baghdādh, for his objective was the Baghdādh market. He came against them in the morning.

The Muslims were penetrating deeply into al-Sawād while al-Muthannā was at al-Anbār, as they launched attacks in the area between lower Kaskar, the lower Euphrates, and the bridges of Mithqab[1032] as far as ʿAyn al-Tamr and the region belonging to it in the land of al-Falālīj and al-ʿĀl.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥaffiz—his father: A man from the inhabitants of al-Ḥīrah said to al-Muthannā,

> Shall I not show you a village to which the merchants of Madāʾin Kisrā[1033] and al-Sawād come? They gather there
> [2204] once a year and have with them valuables like the public treasury. These are the days of their market. If you are able to attack them without their noticing [your approach], you will obtain there wealth that will be riches for the Muslims and by which they will be strengthened against their enemy for as long as they live.

Al-Muthannā asked, "How far is it from Madāʾin Kisrā?" The man answered, "Part of a day or most of a day." Al-Muthannā went on, "How can I get to it?" They said,

> We bid you, if you set out for it, to take the land route until you get to al-Khanāfis, for the people of al-Anbār will make their way to it, giving information about you so that the people of the market will feel secure. Then you turn to stop at

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1029. Or, "Ibn Wabarah b. Rūmānis," as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXV. See above, p. 58.

1030. Al-Dhuhlī, he traveled from Iraq to al-Yamāmah to join the retinue of the false prophetess Sajāḥ. See Ṭabarī, I, 1911; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 144; II, 507.

1031. This would appear to mean "on the same day," but that does not seem to fit the context.

1032. Apparently an unidentified place in al-Sawād and not the same as the desert place named on p. 69.

1033. The same as al-Madāʾin.

al-Anbār, in order to take guides from the *dihqāns*. Then you go along in the dark of the night from al-Anbār so that you come against them in the morning, greeting them with an early morning attack.

Therefore, he went forth from Ullays until he came to al-Khanāfis. Then he turned aside until he came back upon al-Anbār. When its ruler became aware of him, he withdrew inside his fortress, as he did not know who he was, that being at night. When he recognized him, he came down to him. Al-Muthannā offered him food, intimidated him, and told him to keep his secret, saying, "I intend to raid. Therefore, send with me guides [to show me the way] to Baghdādh, so that I may raid from it as far as al-Madā'in." The ruler said, "I will come with you." Al-Muthannā said, "I do not want you to come with me. Rather, send with me one who is a better guide than you." The ruler suppled them with food and fodder and sent guides with them. They traveled until, when they were at the midpoint [of their journey], al-Muthannā asked them, "How far is this village from me?" They answered, "Four or five *farsakhs*." He then asked his men who would volunteer for guard duty, and a group volunteered. He said to them, "Keep your wits sharp as guards."

When he stopped to camp, he said, "O people, stay, eat, make ablutions, and prepare yourselves." He sent out reconnaissance parties, which held up the people [in the vicinity] so that the Muslims would precede the news [about them]. When they were done, he sent [forces] toward the enemy in the latter part of the night. Then he crossed over to them and greeted them in the morning in their mar- [2205]
kets. He put them to the sword, killing, while the Muslims took what they wanted. Al-Muthannā said, "Take only the gold and the silver. Do not take more goods than one of your men can carry on his mount." The people of the markets fled. The Muslims filled their hands with the yellow, the white,[1034] and the free[1035] of everything. Then he went out to fight again until he stopped on Nahr al-Saylaḥīn[1036] by al-Anbār. On making camp, he addressed the people, saying, "O people, camp, take care of your wants, and be prepared to

1034. That is, the gold and the silver.

1035. That is, captives.

1036. The modern Ṣāliḥiyyīn, it is a canal that lies about 26 km. west of Baghdād and 36 km. east of al-Anbār. Not to be confused with the other al-Saylaḥūn near al-Ḥīrah. See Ibn Khurdādhbih, *Masālik*, 72, 216; Muqaddasī, *Taqāsīm*, 134; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 134 n. 70, 248, 253–55.

march, praising God and asking Him for safety. Then, retreat in a hurry." They did so, but he heard a whispering among them saying, "How fast the enemy are in pursuing us!" At this, he said,

> Give each other counsel of goodness and obedience to duty, and do not counsel each other to crime and rebelliousness.[1037] Look into matters and weigh them carefully, then speak, for the alarm has not yet reached their city. Should it reach them, terror would prevent them from pursuing you, for raids create fears that spread outward from them for a day into the night. Should the guards pursue you upon actually seeing you, they would not overtake you, because you are on full-blooded Arabian horses, until you have reached your camp and your army. If they were to overtake you, I would fight them for the sake of two [purposes]: the seeking of reward and the hope of victory. Therefore have confidence in God and keep a good opinion of him, for God has supported you in many situations, even though they be more numerous than you. I will keep you informed about myself, as well as about my [feigned] shrinking back and what I intend thereby. The caliph of God's Messenger, Abū Bakr, bade us to shorten our halting, to hasten our turning again to the at-
> [2206] tack during raids, and to speed ourselves in another direction.

He advanced with them — they had their guides to convey them across the deserts and the canals — until he brought them to al-Anbār. The *dihqāns* of al-Anbār received them with hospitality and rejoiced at his safe return, for he had promised to treat them well if their affairs remained in good order for them according to what the Muslims liked.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: When al-Muthannā returned from Baghdādh to al-Anbār, he sent al-Muḍārib al-ʿIjlī[1038] and Zayd[1039] off to al-Kabāth,[1040] where Fāris al-

1037. The wording recalls Qur'ān 58:9.

1038. Al-Muḍārib b. Yazīd, he appears only in Sayf's reports here and in Ṭabarī, I, 2269, 2478, 2655–56. His mention in Yaʿqūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, 164, probably derives from Sayf. See also Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 422; Donner, *Conquests*, 383, 398, 438.

1039. Unidentified.

1040. A marketplace in Mesopotamia belonging to the Taghlib, according to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 433, whose notice is probably drawn from Sayf's report.

ʿUnāb al-Taghlibī[1041] was ruling, and then set out in their tracks. The two men reached al-Kabāth. The people had scattered, emptying al-Kabāth, whose whole population were of the Banū Taghlib. The Muslims rode in their tracks, sending out forces in pursuit of them that overtook their rear, while Fāris al-ʿUnāb protected them, keeping them safe for an hour, then fleeing. At this, the Muslims slew their rear, making much [slaughter]. Al-Muthannā returned to his camp at al-Anbār. The deputy [left] in charge of the Muslims was Furāt b. Ḥayyān. When al-Muthannā returned to al-Anbār, he sent off Furāt b. Ḥayyān and ʿUtaybah b. al-Nahhās, commanding them both to attack groups of the Taghlib and the Namir at Ṣiffīn.[1042] Then he followed them [himself], leaving ʿAmr b. Abī Sulmā al-Hujaymī[1043] behind in charge of the troops. When they drew near Ṣiffīn, al-Muthannā, Furāt, and ʿUtaybah split up. The inhabitants of Ṣiffīn fled, crossing the Euphrates to al-Jazīrah,[1044] where they fortified themselves. Al-Muthannā and his troops exhausted their provisions, so that they resorted to their mounts, except for those that were needed, and ate them, even their feet, their bones, and their skins. They they overtook a caravan of the people of Diyāf[1045] and Ḥawrān. They killed the non-Muslims and, striking three persons from the Banū Taghlib who were guards, took the caravan. It was an excellent showing. [2207]

Al-Muthannā said to them, "Guide me." One of them responded, "Give me a guarantee of security for my family and my property and I will show you a band of the Taghlib from whom I set out today." Al-Muthannā gave him the guarantee and went with him for the day, until, when it was evening, he assaulted the [Taghlibī] group. Just then, their livestock were returning from the watering place, while the people were sitting in the courtyards of their dwellings. At this point, he unleashed his attackers, who killed the warriors, took the

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1041. Unidentified and found only in this place in al-Ṭabarī.

1042. The site of the famous later battle of 37/658 between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah, it is located on the right bank of the Euphrates between al-Raqqah and Bālis. See *EI*[1], s.v. Ṣiffīn. The appearance of the name here is probably retrospective, given Sayf's preoccupation with this battle and the justification of its participants.

1043. Al-Tamīmī, he is not further identified and apparently mentioned only here in al-Ṭabarī. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 114; Donner, *Conquests*, 384.

1044. That is, to the north bank.

1045. Text Dabā; read: Diyāf, as Cairo ed. and Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXV. Diyāf was a place in al-Jazīrah or Syria. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 494–95.

dependents captive, and drove off their property. They turned out to be the Banū Dhī al-Ruwayḥalah.[1046] Those of the Rabīʿah who were among the Muslims bought the captives with their share of the spoils and freed their captives. The Rabīʿah were not used to taking captives, whereas the Arabs took captives from each other in their Jāhiliyyah.

Al-Muthannā was informed that most of those going about in the country had gone to seek pasturage on the shore of the Tigris. Thus, al-Muthannā set forth. Ḥudhayfah b. Miḥṣan al-Ghalafānī[1047] was in charge of his vanguard in all of these campaigns of his after al-Buwayb. Al-Nuʿmān b. ʿAwf b. al-Nuʿmān and Maṭar,[1048] the two Shaybānīs, were in command of his two wings. He sent Ḥudhayfah after the fleeing enemy and followed him. They overtook them at Tikrīt,[1049] a little before it, whence they pursued them while they were fording the water. They obtained the amount of livestock they wanted, to the extent that each man received five animals and five captives. Al-Muthannā took a fifth of the property, carrying it until he came to the people at al-Anbār.

Furāt and ʿUtaybah had gone off in their own directions until they attacked Ṣiffīn, where the Namir and the Taghlib were under their various standards. They attacked them, throwing a band of them
[2208] into the water. These pleaded with them, but they did not leave off

1046. These are perhaps the ʿĀmir Dhū al-Rujaylah b. Mālik b. Jusham b. Bakr of the Taghlib, as no Dhū al-Ruwayḥilah are known, whereas the Arabic written form of Dhū al-Rujaylah differs only by a single letter. In fact, one ms. of IH has al-Ruwayjilah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 164; II, 161.

1047. This *nisbah* also variously is given as al-ʿAlqāʾī, al-ʿAlaqānī, or al-Qalʿānī. None of these names is found in Ibn al-Athīr's *Lubāb*, despite Ibn Ḥajar's preference for al-ʿAlqāʾī based on an alleged reading from Ibn al-Athīr. Whatever Sayf may have meant, al-Balādhurī describes this Ḥudhayfah b. Miḥṣan as an Azdī from the al-Bāriq clan. He is famous chiefly for having subdued ʿUmān during the Riddah and having subsequently governed it, possibly until 17/638. If he did remain in ʿUmān while the conquest of Iraq was taking place, it is unlikely he could have played the great role in the latter that Sayf attributes to him. See Ṭabarī, I, 1880, 1929, 1977–80, 2269, 2273, 2292, 2389, 2426, 2481, 2548, 2552, 2565, 2570; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 107; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 92–93; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 148, 156, 164; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 278–79; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 317; Donner, *Conquests*, 86, 386, 403, 426.

1048. Probably the same as Maṭar b. Fiḍḍah al-Taymī introduced on p. 180–81, above.

1049. This is still a large town in Iraq, located on the Tigris about 155 km. north of Baghdād. See *EI*[1], s.v. Tikrīt. That the Muslims should pursue the Persians so far north even before the Battle of al-Qādisiyyah had taken place is hardly possible.

from [attacking] them. They started calling out to them, "Drowning, drowning!"[1050] ʿUtaybah and Furāt began to instigate the men, calling out to them, "A drowning for a burning!" reminding them of one of their battles in the Jāhiliyyah in which they had burned up a group of the Bakr b. Wā'il in a certain swampy thicket. Then, having drowned them, they turned away, going back to al-Muthannā. When the men had returned to their camp at al-Anbār, and the expeditions and raiding parties had come together there, al-Muthannā led them down to al-Ḥīrah[1051] and camped in it.

ʿUmar used to have spies in every army. As ʿUmar was informed by writing of what took place on those expeditions, he heard what ʿUtaybah and Furāt had said at the battle of the Banū Taghlib and the water. He sent a message to the two of them, asking them [about it]. They informed him that they had said that because it was a proverbial saying and that they had not said it to seek revenge for the Jāhiliyyah. He asked them to swear an oath, and they swore that they had meant by that only [to use] a proverbial saying and to strengthen Islam. He believed them and sent them back, so that they came to al-Muthannā.

What Stirred Up the Matter of al-Qādisiyyah

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Sawād b. Nuwayrah — ʿAzīz b. Miknaf al-Tamīmī, then al-Usayyidī;[1052] Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam al-Ḥanafī — al-Mughīrah b. ʿUtaybah b. al-Nahhās [2209]
al-ʿIjlī; and Ziyād b. Sarjis al-Aḥmarī — ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sābāṭ al-Aḥmarī:[1053] The Persians said to Rustam and al-Fayruzān, who were in charge of the Persians,

1050. That is, "We are going to drown."

1051. Text: *al-Jazīrah*; read: *al-Ḥīrah*, as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXV.

1052. Text: *Usaydī*; read: *Usayyidī*.

1053. An otherwise unknown name that occurs only here. Probably the name is an invention, as the element "b. Sābāṭ" suggests "a son of the town of Sābāṭ." This town was part of the Madā'in complex of cities and in fact is mentioned in this report. It also is possible that the name was suggested by that of the attested Meccan traditionist ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sābiṭ, who died in 118/736 and therefore was of the same generation as the name proposed here. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 180–81. Elsewhere Sayf has not been above inserting bogus but reasonable-sounding names.

> To where are you being carried? Dispute has not left you alone, so that you have weakened the Persians and made their enemies greedy for them. The two of you have not reached such rank that Persia will concur with you in this opinion and that you expose it to perdition. After Baghdādh, Sābāṭ, and Tikrīt, there is only al-Madāʾin. By God, either you two truly unite, or else we will indeed begin with you before any malicious gloater rejoices at our misfortune.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥaffiz—his father: When the Muslims were plunging deeply into al-Sawād, the Persians said to Rustam,

> What are you waiting for, by God, unless it is for us to be beset [by misfortune] and destroyed? By God, none but you brought this weakness upon us, O leaders! You have divided the Persians and held them back from [dealing with] their enemy. By God, if killing you would not lead to our own annihilation, we would have hastened to kill you this hour. If you do not cease, we will most certainly destroy you and then perish ourselves having been cured of you [at least].

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: Al-Fayruzān and Rustam said to Būrān bt. Kisrā, "Write down for us the women of Kisrā and his concubines, and the women of the family of Kisrā and their concubines." She did so, and then forwarded that to them in a written document. Thereupon they sent forth [troops] to seek them, until not a woman remained among them but that they brought her. They took them in place of the men, putting them under torture to ask them to point out any male from the descendants of
[2210] Kisrā, but no one of them was found among these women. They said —or someone among them said, "There remains only this boy called Yazdigird, who is of the sons of Shahriyār b. Kisrā[1054] and whose mother is from the people of Bādūrayā."[1055] They sent [troops] to her, who arrested her on account of him. She had lodged him in the days of Shīrā, when the latter gathered the females in al-Qaṣr al-

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1054. The son and father of Persian kings, but never king himself and hardly more than a link in the Sāsānian family tree. See Ṭabarī, I, 1044, 2883.

1055. A district just west of Baghdād extending from the ʿĪsā and Ṣarāh canals in the north to the Ṣarṣar canal in the south. See *EI*², s.v. Bādūrayā; Le Strange, *Lands*, 31, 66–67, 80, map II; Morony, *Iraq*, 145–46.

Abyaḍ and killed the males. She arranged an appointed time with the boy's maternal uncles, then lowered him to them in a basket. Thus, they [now] asked her about him and arrested her on his account until she showed them where he was. They sent [men] to him, who brought him forth, then, having agreed upon him, they made him king when he was twenty-one years old. Persia felt secure [once more]. As they flocked in, the chiefs competed with one another in [offering] him obedience and aid. He named divisions for every outpost that Kisrā had held, or every frontier position. Thus, he named the divisions of al-Ḥīrah, al-Anbār, the outposts, and al-Ubullah.

That [news] about them and their agreeing on Yazdigird reached al-Muthannā and the Muslims. They wrote to ʿUmar about what they were expecting from those in their midst. The letter did not reach ʿUmar before the people of al-Sawād had rebelled (*kafar*), both those of them who had an agreement [with the Muslims] and those of them who had no agreement. Al-Muthannā led forth his own garrison until he stopped at Dhū Qār. The [other] troops came gradually to [gather] in a single camp in al-Ṭaff,[1056] until ʿUmar's letter came to them:

> Now then, go out from the midst of the Persians and scatter in the waters which lie next to the Persians on the borders of your land and their land. Do not leave among the Rabīʿah anyone, nor among the Muḍar nor their confederates anyone of the courageous, nor any horseman, but that you bring him with you. If they come willingly, [fine,] if not, draft them. Bring the Arabs around to earnestness, for the Persians are in earnest. Meet their earnestness with your [2211] earnestness.

Al-Muthannā encamped at Dhū Qār, and [other] troops camped at al-Jull and Sharāf as far as Ghuḍayy.[1057] (Ghuḍayy is before al-Baṣrah.) Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh was at Ghuḍayy, and Sabrah b. ʿAmr al-ʿAnbarī[1058] and those who had followed his example of those he had

1056. This was the desert plateau west of al-Kūfah, elevated above the flood plain of Iraq. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Ṭaff; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 35–36.

1057. A watering place in the desert near al-Baṣrah belonging to the ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 207.

1058. He is attested by Ibn Isḥāq as a member of a Tamīmī delegation to the Prophet. In 36/656, he is reported to have been governor of al-Yamāmah, perhaps for ʿAlī. See Ṭabarī, I, 1762, 1798, 1909–10, 1912, 3132; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 621; Ibn

charge of [were spread] as far as Salmān.[1059] They formed [a line of] fortified posts in the waters of al-Ṭaff[1060] from their beginning to their end. These were able to see each other and could support each other if something occurred. That was in Dhū al-Qaʿdah of the year 13 (27 December 634–25 January 635).

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād, according to their *isnād*: The first act that ʿUmar undertook when he heard that the Persians had made Yazdigird king was to write to the Arab officials in charge [of taxation] of the [settled] districts and the [nomadic] tribes. That was in Dhū al-Ḥijjah of the year 13 (25 January 635–24 February 635), when he went forth to the pilgrimage. He made the pilgrimage during all the years of his [reign]. [He wrote,] "Do not leave anyone who has a weapon, a horse, courage, or sound counsel but that you select him and then send him to me. Hurry, hurry!" The messengers went to those to whom he had sent them at the time when he went forth to the pilgrimage. First, those tribes that lived near to Mecca and Medina came to him. As for those who resided from Medina as far as the midpoint between him and Iraq, they came to him at Medina after he had returned from the pilgrimage. As for those who were farther away than that, they joined al-Muthannā [directly]. As for those who came to ʿUmar, they urgently informed him about those behind him.[1061]

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Abū Maʿshar; and Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah
[2212] —Ibn Isḥāq: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf led the pilgrimage in the year 13.

Al-Muqaddamī[1062]—Isḥāq al-Farwī[1063]—ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿUmar—Nāfiʿ—Ibn ʿUmar: ʿUmar put ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf in charge of

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ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, II, 76–77; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 13. According to Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 311, a Sabrah b. ʿAmr b. Ahnān b. Dithār b. Faqʿas was accounted one of the poets of the Arabs.

1059. This is yet another waterhole near Wāqiṣah and Sharāf. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 239; Musil, *Northern Neǧd*, 186 n. 100, 230, 236.

1060. Text: al-ʿIrāq; read: al-Ṭaff, as Cairo ed. and Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXV.

1061. This sentence would seem to refer to those who brought the alarm to ʿUmar from Iraq in the first place.

1062. Text: al-Maqaddī; read: al-Muqaddamī, as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXV. He is Abū ʿUthmān Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. ʿAlī b. ʿAṭāʾ b. Muqaddam, the *mawlā* of the Thaqīf, d. 264/878, who came from a Baṣran family of traditionists but moved to Baghdād. See Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, XII, 393.

1063. Abū Yaʿqūb Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Farwah, the *mawlā* of the family of the Caliph ʿUthmān, d. 226/841, he was a Medinan tradition-

the pilgrimage in the year in which he began to rule; thus, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān led the pilgrimage. Then ʿUmar led the pilgrimage himself during all the years of his [reign] after that.

In this year—according to what has been reported—ʿUmar's governor of Mecca was ʿAttāb b. Asīd. ʿUthmān b. Abī al-ʿĀṣī was in charge of al-Ṭāʾif, Yaʿlā b. Munyah was in charge of Yemen, Ḥudhayfah b. Miḥṣan was in charge of ʿUmān and al-Yamāmah, al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī was in charge of al-Baḥrayn, Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ was in charge of Syria, and al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah was in charge of the frontier of al-Kūfah and that part of its land which had been conquered. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib—according to what has been reported—was in charge of the judiciary. It has also been said that during his reign ʿUmar had no judge.

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ist with a fair reputation. His traditions from ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿUmar, who predeceased him by at least seventy-seven years, are criticized in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 248. See also Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, X, 202; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, I, 198–99.

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Index

This index contains all proper names of persons, places, and tribal and other groups found in the translator's foreword and the text, as well as certain technical terms used in the text. It also includes proper names mentioned in the footnotes, except for names of modern persons and places, authors and titles of books in bibliographical references, and geographical names used only to identify individuals (e.g., "of al-Kūfah") or to locate sites (e.g., "15 km. west of the Euphrates"). Judgeships and other political offices mentioned in the footnotes are, however, indexed in the references under specific cities. If an indexed item occurs only in a footnote, the page number is followed by "n." in the index; otherwise, only the page number is given.

The definite article and the abbreviations b. (for ibn "son of") and bt. (for bint "daughter of") are ignored in alphabetization. Roman numerals given to monarchs are also ignored for purposes of alphabetization. Most Muslim figures are alphabetized only according to their first names. Certain persons, however, are alphabetized by their family names or those names by which they are best known. In many instances cross-references are provided.

Persons whose existence is attested only in the transmissions of Sayf b. ʿUmar are marked with an asterisk.*

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